The Journal of Historical Review

Volume Fourteen, Number 1 January / February, 1994

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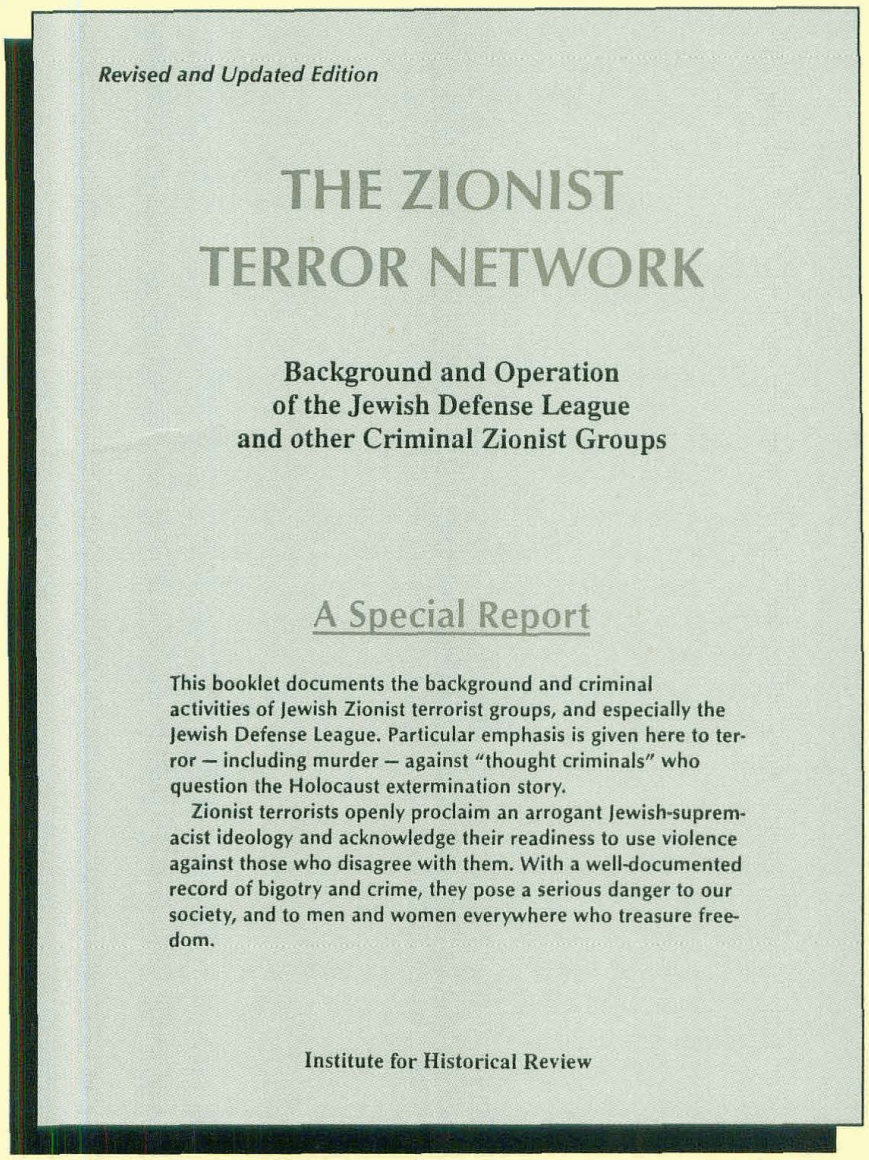
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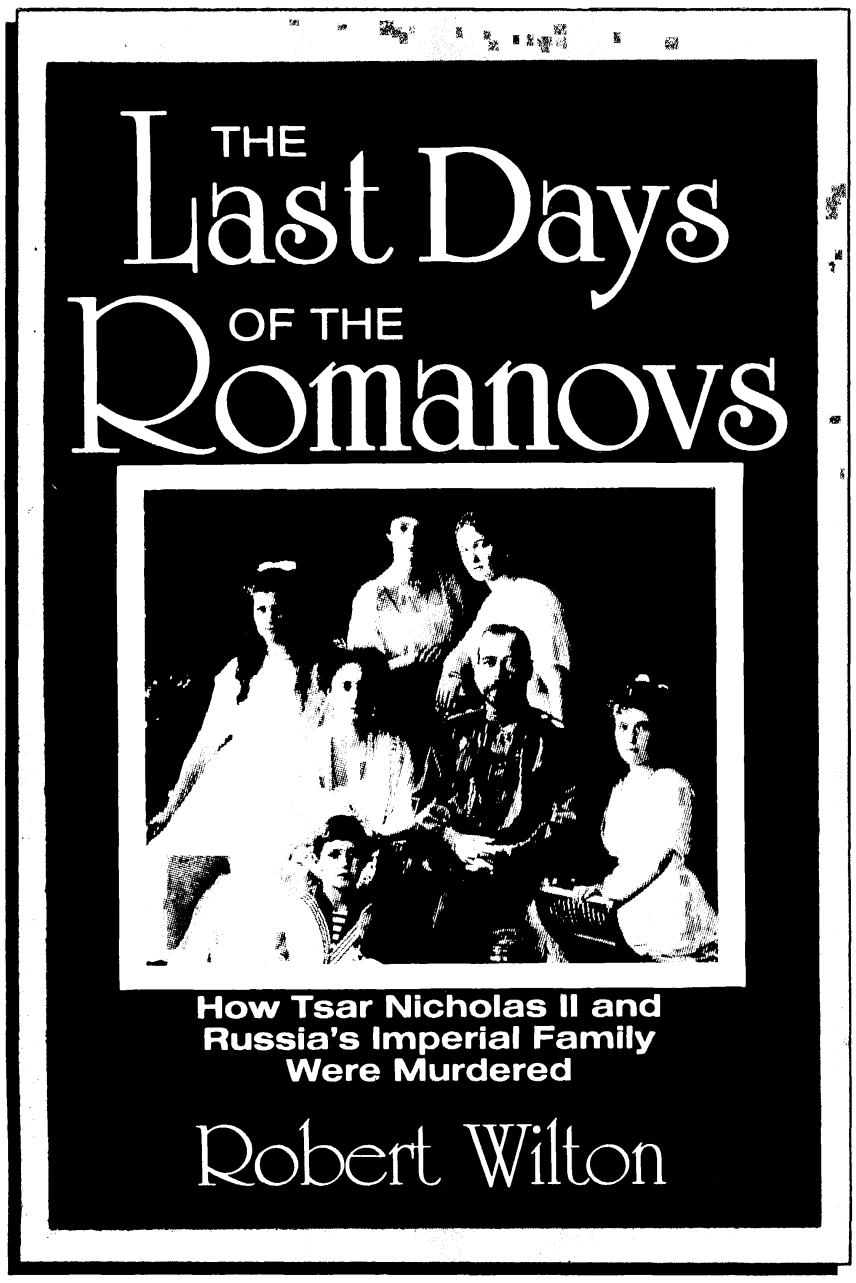

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On the Cover: The Russian Imperial Family. Left to Right: Olga, Marie, Nicholas, Alexandra, Anastasia, Alexis and Tatiana.

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From the Editor

MARK WEBER

Just as the historic handshake between Israeli premier Rabin and Palestinian leader Arafat on September 13 was all but unthinkable just a few months earlier, some of what has recently been appearing about the IHR and this *Journal* in prominent newspapers and magazines would have been unthinkable a year or two ago.

One or two swallows does not a Spring make. Still, the snow and ice of historical bigotry show signs of melting just a bit under the sunshine of facts and awareness. Along with the usual stream of hateful media coverage of the IHR and those who support us, gratifying indications of our growing impact have also been appearing.

Revisionist arguments, and this *Journal*, are given respectful consideration in a lengthy article about Auschwitz, "Evidence of Evil," in the November 15 issue of the prestigious weekly *New Yorker* magazine. In general, writer Timothy Ryback reports factually on the arguments of Holocaust revisionists. The persuasive videotape of Jewish revisionist David Cole (who addressed the 1992 IHR Conference) is discussed at some length, and Cole is accurately quoted. Ryback even accurately identifies and quotes me (on the often dubious nature of Holocaust survivor testimony).

Contrary to what the world has been told for decades, Ryback acknowledges, solid evidence of extermination at Auschwitz has proven just about impossible to find. "In the blueprints, construction documents and work orders that trace the construction and subsequent use of these [Auschwitz] buildings [where prisoners were allegedly gassed], which are now housed in Auschwitz Museum archives, there is not a single explicit reference to the use of gas chambers or Zyklon B for homicidal purposes."

Ryback also concedes that the crematorium and supposed "gas chamber" at the Auschwitz I main camp — which is displayed to tourists as an extermination facility in its "original" condition — is "indeed a 'reconstruction'." Still, he remains unconvinced of key revisionist arguments, and cites what he regards as compelling evidence of mass extermination by gas at Auschwitz.

First, there are the piles of human hair that are on permanent display for the tourists who visit Auschwitz. For decades, writes Ryback, this hair "has continued to bear witness." "There is nothing that speaks louder against the Nazi crimes than this hair," contends Ernest Michel, a wartime Jewish inmate of Auschwitz quoted by Ryback. The "human hair at Auschwitz," says Michel, is "the strongest evidence of what happened to us." (True enough, but not in the way that Michel and Ryback believe.)

Ryback makes quite a point of the fact (well-known for decades) that "traces of cyanide" were found in samples of the hair tested in 1945. This must mean, he suggests, that the hair was cut from the bodies of victims dragged from gas chambers.

Actually, this collected human hair is evidence of something quite different. As even prominent Holocaust historians have acknowledged, when prisoners arrived at the camp, their hair was normally cut very short as a part of a routine procedure against the spread of disease. The cut hair was then treated with Zyklon to kill typhus-bearing lice, which is why hydrogen cyanide was found in the samples analyzed in 1945. (See the Winter 1992-93 *Journal*, p. 484.)

Secondly, Ryback makes much of the recently-published — and much-ballyhooed — book by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac, who provides "irrefutable proof" that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz. (For a brief, preliminary response to Pressac's new book, see Dr. Faurisson's essay in this issue of the *Journal*.)

"Historical revisionism is in the air these days," reports the December 1993 issue of *Vanity Fair*, an opulent New York monthly jam-packed with ads for expensive perfumes and other luxuries. In an essay on the growing impact of historical revisionism, British-born contributing editor Christopher Hitchens takes note, for example, of the recent assault against the reputation of Winston Churchill by the youthful British historian John Charmley. (For more on this, see the March-April 1993 *Journal*.)

Most eyebrow-raising, though, is what Hitchens has to say about the Holocaust story. On prominent display at the new US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, he notes, is a short signed statement by Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, who "confesses" that, under his command, "two million Jews were put to death by gassing, and about one-half million by other means."

Citing a *Journal* article by Robert Faurisson

("How the British Obtained the Confession of Rudolf Höss," Winter 1986-87), and confused responses by prominent Holocaust historians Deborah Lipstadt and Christopher Browning, Hitchens concludes that, on this matter anyway, the revisionists are right. The Höss "confession" is not only factually wrong on key points, it was obtained by torture.

"An important piece of evidence in the Holocaust Memorial is not reliable," he informs readers.

Hitchens winds up his essay by quoting Nigel Hamilton, author of *JFK: Reckless Youth*, a disrespectful book about John Kennedy: "What was once considered revisionism is now considered biblical. And the revisionism endeavor is something that every generation must embark upon, whether it's the Holocaust or any other subject." Amen.

A rather sensational article in the Denver *Rocky Mountain News*, June 15, headlined "Denying the Holocaust," tells readers that:

> Once dismissed as anti-Semitic kooks, their [Revisionist] movement is taking on a frighteningly legitimate veneer, with slick-paper magazines, "scholarly" conventions, full-page newspaper ads and smooth-talking leaders. Their persona is the non-emotional skeptic raising unpopular but legitimate questions.

The Institute for Historical Review, *News* staff writer Rebecca Jones goes on to report, is a "California-based group around which much of the Holocaust revisionism movement revolves." (About me she writes: "When you talk to him, he's calm and rational. He doesn't sound spiteful or evil, just professional.") Accompanying Jones' article is a "For More Information" section that mentions several IHR books, along with the IHR address.

In the November 1993 issue of the leftist Boston monthly *Z Magazine*, writer Edward Herman takes aim at the recent anti-revisionist books of Deborah Lipstadt and Pierre Vidal-Naquet (which are reviewed in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*). While betraying no sympathy for (or even understanding of) the arguments of Holocaust revisionists, Herman nevertheless finds Lipstadt and Vidal-Naquet "dishonest" and guilty of "falsifying evidence" and "falsification of history." Claiming to see a hidden motive behind the media attacks against revisionists, Herman goes on to write: "In explaining the periodic surges of attention to the deniers [that's

(Cont. on page 48)

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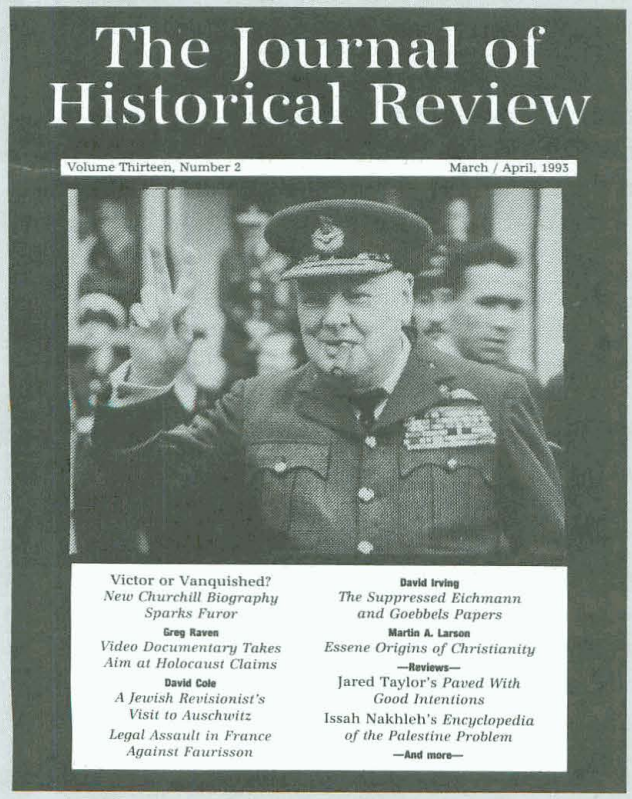
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Behind the Murder of Russia's Imperial Family

The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's Early Soviet Regime

Assessing the Grim Legacy of Soviet Communism

MARK WEBER

In the night of July 16-17, 1918, a squad of Bolshevik secret police murdered Russia's last emperor, Tsar Nicholas II, along with his wife, Tsaritsa Alexandra, their 14-year-old son, Tsarevich Alexis, and their four daughters. They were cut down in a hail of gunfire in a half-cellar room of the house in Ekaterinburg, a city in the Ural mountain region, where they were being held prisoner. The daughters were finished off with bayonets. To prevent a cult for the dead Tsar, the bodies were carted away to the countryside and hastily buried in a secret grave.

Nicholas II and family shortly before the outbreak of the First World War. At his side, Empress Alexandra. The daughters, from left to right: Marie, Tatiana, Olga and Anastasia. In front, Tsarevich Alexis.

Bolshevik authorities at first reported that the Romanov emperor had been shot after the discovery of a plot to liberate him. For some time the deaths of the Empress and the children were kept secret. Soviet historians claimed for many years that local Bolsheviks had acted on their own in carrying out the killings, and that Lenin, founder of the Soviet state, had nothing to do with the crime.

In 1990, Moscow playwright and historian Edvard Radzinsky announced the result of his detailed investigation into the murders. He unearthed the reminiscences of Lenin's bodyguard, Alexei Akimov, who recounted how he personally delivered Lenin's execution order to the telegraph office. The telegram was also signed by Soviet government chief Yakov Sverdlov. Akimov had saved the original telegraph tape as a record of the secret order.[1]

Radzinsky's research confirmed what earlier evidence had already indicated. Leon Trotsky — one of Lenin's closest colleagues — had revealed years earlier that Lenin and Sverdlov had together made the decision to put the Tsar and his family to death. Recalling a conversation in 1918, Trotsky wrote:[2]

> My next visit to Moscow took place after the [temporary] fall of Ekaterinburg [to anti-Communist forces]. Speaking with Sverdlov, I asked in passing: "Oh yes, and where is the Tsar?"
>
> "Finished," he replied. "He has been shot."
>
> "And where is the family?"
>
> "The family along with him."
>
> "All of them?," I asked, apparently with a trace of surprise.
>
> "All of them," replied Sverdlov. "What about it?" He was waiting to see my reaction. I made no reply.
>
> "And who made the decision?," I asked.
>
> "We decided it here. Ilyich [Lenin] believed that we shouldn't leave the Whites a live banner to rally around, especially under the present difficult circumstances."
>
> I asked no further questions and considered the matter closed.

Recent research and investigation by Radzinsky and others also corroborates the account provided years earlier by Robert Wilton, correspondent of the London *Times* in Russia for 17 years. His account, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* — originally published in 1920, and recently reissued by the Institute for Historical Review — is based in large part on the findings of a detailed investigation carried

out in 1919 by Nikolai Sokolov under the authority of "White" (anti-Communist) leader Alexander Kolchak. Wilton's book remains one of the most accurate and complete accounts of the murder of Russia's imperial family.[3]

A solid understanding of history has long been the best guide to comprehending the present and anticipating the future. Accordingly, people are most interested in historical questions during times of crisis, when the future seems most uncertain. With the collapse of Communist rule in the Soviet Union, 1989-1991, and as Russians struggle to build a new order on the ruins of the old, historical issues have become very topical. For example, many ask: How did the Bolsheviks, a small movement guided by the teachings of German-Jewish social philosopher Karl Marx, succeed in taking control of Russia and imposing a cruel and despotic regime on its people?

Russian troops in the Galicia province surrender in mass to Austro-Hungarian forces, summer 1917. Within a year after the outbreak of war, nearly four million Russian soldiers had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. By mid-1917, discipline in the Russian armies had virtually collapsed. Thousands of soldiers deserted, while many of those who remained at the front often refused to fight or obey orders.

In recent years, Jews around the world have been voicing anxious concern over the specter of anti-Semitism in the lands of the former Soviet Union. In this new and uncertain era, we are told, suppressed feelings of hatred and rage against Jews are once again being expressed. According to one public opinion survey conducted in 1991, for example, most Russians wanted all Jews to leave the country.[4] But precisely why is anti-Jewish sentiment so widespread among the peoples of the former Soviet Union? Why do so many Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and others blame "the Jews" for so much misfortune?

A Taboo Subject

Although officially Jews have never made up more than five percent of the country's total population,[5] they played a highly disproportionate and probably decisive role in the infant Bolshevik regime, effectively dominating the Soviet government during its early years. Soviet historians, along with most of their colleagues in the West, for decades preferred to ignore this subject. The facts, though, cannot be denied.

With the notable exception of Lenin (Vladimir Ulyanov), most of the leading Communists who took control of Russia in 1917-20 were Jews. Leon Trotsky (Lev Bronstein) headed the Red Army and, for a time, was chief of Soviet foreign affairs. Yakov Sverdlov (Solomon) was both the Bolshevik party's executive secretary and — as chairman of the Central Executive Committee — head of the Soviet government. Grigori Zinoviev (Radomyslsky) headed the Communist International (Comintern), the central agency for spreading revolution in foreign countries. Other prominent Jews included press commissar Karl Radek (Sobelsohn), foreign affairs commissar Maxim Litvinov (Wallach), Lev Kamenev (Rosenfeld) and Moisei Uritsky.[6]

Bolshevik troops storm the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, headquarters of the provisional government, November 7, 1917.

Lenin himself was of mostly Russian and Kalmuck ancestry, but he was also one-quarter Jewish. His maternal grandfather, Israel (Alexander) Blank, was a Ukrainian Jew who was later baptized into the Russian Orthodox Church.[7]

A thorough-going internationalist, Lenin viewed ethnic or cultural loyalties with contempt. He had little regard for his own countrymen. "An intelligent Russian," he once remarked, "is almost always a Jew or someone with Jewish blood in his veins."[8]

Critical Meetings

In the Communist seizure of power in Russia, the Jewish role was probably critical.

Lenin in his office in the Kremlin, 1918.

Two weeks prior to the Bolshevik "October Revolution" of 1917, Lenin convened a top secret meeting in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) at which the key leaders of the Bolshevik party's Central Committee made the fateful decision to seize power in a violent takeover. Of the twelve persons who took part in this decisive gathering, there were four Russians (including Lenin), one Georgian (Stalin), one Pole (Dzerzhinsky), and six Jews.[9]

To direct the takeover, a seven-man "Political Bureau" was chosen. It consisted of two Russians (Lenin and Bubnov), one Georgian (Stalin), and four Jews (Trotsky, Sokolnikov, Zinoviev, and Kamenev).[10] Meanwhile, the Petersburg (Petrograd) Soviet — whose chairman was Trotsky — established an 18-member "Military Revolutionary Committee" to actually carry out the seizure of power. It included eight (or nine) Russians, one Ukrainian, one Pole, one Caucasian, and six Jews.[11] Finally, to supervise the organization of the uprising, the Bolshevik Central Committee established a five-man "Revolutionary Military Center" as the Party's operations command. It consisted of one Russian (Bubnov), one Georgian (Stalin), one Pole (Dzerzhinsky), and two Jews (Sverdlov and Uritsky).[12]

Contemporary Voices of Warning

Well-informed observers, both inside and outside of Russia, took note at the time of the crucial Jewish role in Bolshevism. Winston Churchill, for one, warned in an article published in the February 8, 1920, issue of the London *Illustrated Sunday Herald* that Bolshevism is a "worldwide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilization and for the reconstitution of society on the basis of arrested development, of envious malevolence, and impossible equality." The eminent British political leader and historian went on to write:[13]

> There is no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian Revolution by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews. It is certainly a very great one; it probably outweighs all others. With the notable exception of Lenin, the majority of the leading figures are Jews.
>
> Moreover, the principal inspiration and driving power comes from the Jewish leaders. Thus Tchitcherin, a pure Russian, is eclipsed by his nominal subordinate, Litvinoff, and the influence of Russians like Bukharin or Lunacharski cannot be compared with the power of Trotsky, or of Zinovieff, the Dictator of the Red Citadel (Petrograd), or of Krassin or Radek — all Jews.
>
> In the Soviet institutions the predominance of Jews is even more astonishing. And the prominent, if not indeed the principal, part in the system of terrorism applied by the Extraordinary Commissions for Combatting Counter-

Yakov Sverdlov, the first Soviet president

Revolution [the *Cheka*] has been taken by Jews, and in some notable cases by Jewesses ...

Needless to say, the most intense passions of revenge have been excited in the breasts of the Russian people.

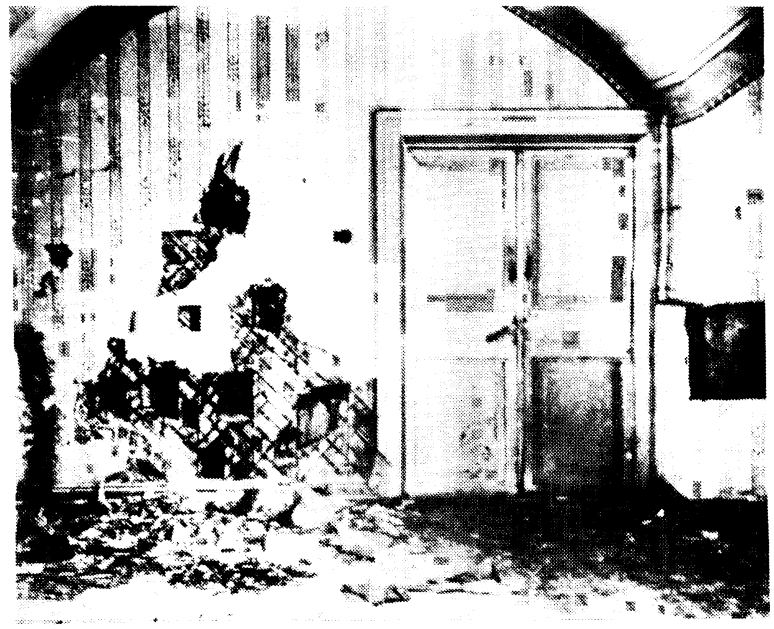
David R. Francis, United States ambassador in Russia, warned in a January 1918 dispatch to Washington: "The Bolshevik leaders here, most of whom are Jews and 90 percent of whom are returned exiles, care little for Russia or any other country but are internationalists and they are trying to start a worldwide social revolution."[14]

Nikolai Sokolov, center, head of the investigation commission, makes a point in the garden of the Ipatiev House. Listening are General Diterichs, seated, and M. Magnitsky, public prosecutor of the Ekaterinburg court.

The Netherlands' ambassador in Russia, Oudendyke, made much the same point a few months later: "Unless Bolshevism is nipped in the bud immediately, it is bound to spread in one form or another over Europe and the whole world as it is organized and worked by Jews who have no nationality, and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things."[15]

"The Bolshevik Revolution," declared a leading American Jewish community paper in 1920, "was largely the product of Jewish thinking, Jewish discontent, Jewish effort to reconstruct."[16]

As an expression of its radically anti-nationalist character, the fledgling Soviet government issued a decree a few months after taking power that made anti-Semitism a crime in Russia. The new Communist regime thus became the first in the world to severely punish all expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment.[17] Soviet officials apparently regarded such measures as indispensable. Based on careful observation during a lengthy stay in Russia, American-Jewish scholar Frank Golder reported in 1925 that "because so many of the Soviet leaders are Jews ... anti-Semitism is gaining [in Russia], particularly in the army [and] among the old and new intelligentsia who are being crowded for positions by the sons of Israel."[18]



The half-cellar room in the Ipatiev house where the imperial family was murdered, photographed from the spot where the killers stood while firing their revolvers. The Emperor and his son sat in the center of the room. Behind them was the Empress, also seated. The other victims stood.

Historians' Views

Summing up the situation at that time, Israeli historian Louis Rapoport writes:[19]

> Immediately after the [Bolshevik] Revolution, many Jews were euphoric over their high representation in the new government. Lenin's first Politburo was dominated by men of Jewish origins ...
>
> Under Lenin, Jews became involved in all aspects of the Revolution, including its dirtiest work. Despite the Communists' vows to eradicate anti-Semitism, it spread rapidly after the Revolution — partly because of the prominence of so many Jews in the Soviet administration, as well as in the traumatic, inhuman Sovietization drives that followed. Historian Salo Baron has noted that an immensely disproportionate number of Jews joined the new Bolshevik secret police, the Cheka ... And many of those who fell afoul of the Cheka would be shot by Jewish investigators.

The collective leadership that emerged in Lenin's dying days was headed by the Jew Zinoviev, a loquacious, mean-spirited, curly-haired Adonis whose vanity knew no bounds.

Ipatiev House in Ekaterinburg. An arrow marks the semi-basement room where the imperial family was killed.

"Anyone who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Cheka," wrote Jewish historian Leonard Schapiro, "stood a very good chance of finding himself confronted with, and possibly shot by, a Jewish investigator."[20] In Ukraine, "Jews made up nearly 80 percent of the rank-and-file Cheka agents," reports W. Bruce Lincoln, an American professor of Russian history.[21] (Beginning as the *Cheka,* or *Vecheka*, the Soviet secret police was later known as the GPU, OGPU, NKVD, MVD and KGB.)

In light of all this, it should not be surprising that Yakov M. Yurovksy, the leader of the Bolshevik squad that carried out the murder of the Tsar and his family, was Jewish, as was Sverdlov, the Soviet chief who co-signed Lenin's execution order.[22]

Igor Shafarevich, a Russian mathematician of world stature, has sharply criticized the Jewish role in bringing down the Romanov monarchy and establishing Communist rule in his country. Shafarevich was a leading dissident during the final decades of Soviet rule. A prominent human rights activist, he was a founding member of the Committee on the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR.

In *Russophobia*, a book written ten years before the collapse of Communist rule, he noted that Jews were "amazingly" numerous among the personnel of the Bolshevik secret police. The characteristic Jewishness of the Bolshevik executioners, Shafarevich went on, is most conspicuous in the execution of Nicholas II:[23]

> This ritual action symbolized the end of centuries of Russian history, so that it can be compared only to the execution of Charles I in England or Louis XVI in France. It would seem that representatives of an insignificant ethnic minority should keep as far as possible from this painful action, which would reverberate in all history. Yet what names do we meet? The execution was personally overseen by Yakov Yurovsky who shot the Tsar; the president of the local Soviet was Beloborodov (Vaisbart); the person responsible for the general administration in Ekaterinburg was Shaya Goloshchekin. To round out the picture, on the wall of the room where the execution took place was a distich from a poem by Heine (written in German) about King Balthazar, who offended Jehovah and was killed for the offense.

At the site of the Ganina mine shaft, where the remains of the victims were buried. At the bottom of the shaft was a false floor, beneath which the ashes of the victims were concealed. The bodies had been cut up near the shaft and burned on two pyres, one next to this spot.

In his 1920 book, British veteran journalist Robert Wilton offered a similarly harsh assessment:[24]

> The whole record of Bolshevism in Russia is indelibly impressed with the stamp of alien invasion. The murder of the Tsar, deliberately planned by the Jew Sverdlov (who came to Russia as a paid agent of Germany) and carried out by the Jews Goloshchekin, Syromolotov, Safarov, Voikov and Yurovsky, is the act not of the Russian people, but of this hostile invader.

In the struggle for power that followed Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin emerged victorious over his rivals, eventually succeeding in putting to death nearly every one of the most prominent early Bolsheviks leaders — including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, and Kamenev. With the passage of time, and particularly after 1928, the Jewish role in the top leadership of the Soviet state and its Communist

party diminished markedly.

Put To Death Without Trial

For a few months after taking power, Bolshevik leaders considered bringing "Nicholas Romanov"

Nikolai Sokolov

before a "Revolutionary Tribunal" that would publicize his "crimes against the people" before sentencing him to death. Historical precedent existed for this. Two European monarchs had lost their lives as a consequence of revolutionary upheaval: England's Charles I was beheaded in 1649, and France's Louis XVI was guillotined in 1793.

In these cases, the king was put to death after a lengthy public trial, during which he was allowed to present arguments in his defense. Nicholas II, though, was neither charged nor tried. He was secretly put to death — along with his family and staff — in the dead of night, in an act that resembled more a gangster-style massacre than a formal execution.

Why did Lenin and Sverdlov abandon plans for a show trial of the former Tsar? In Wilton's view, Nicholas and his family were murdered because the Bolshevik rulers knew quite well that they lacked genuine popular support, and rightly feared that the Russian people would never approve killing the Tsar, regardless of pretexts and legalistic formalities.

For his part, Trotsky defended the massacre as a useful and even necesssary measure. He wrote:[25]

> ... The decision [to kill the imperial family] was not only expedient but necessary. The severity of this punishment showed everyone that we would continue to fight on mercilessly, stopping at nothing. The execution of the Tsar's family was needed not only in order to frighten, horrify, and instill a sense of hopelessness in the enemy but also to shake up our own ranks, to show that there was no turning back, that ahead lay either total victory or total doom ... This Lenin sensed well.

Yakov Yurovsky

Historical Context

In the years leading up to the 1917 revolution, Jews were disproportionately represented in all of Russia's subversive leftist parties.[26] Jewish hatred of the Tsarist regime had a basis in objective conditions. Of the leading European powers of the day, imperial Russia was the most institutionally conservative and anti-Jewish. For example, Jews were normally not permitted to reside outside a large area in the west of the Empire known as the "Pale of Settlement."[27]

However understandable, and perhaps even defensible, Jewish hostility toward the imperial regime may have been, the remarkable Jewish role in the vastly more despotic Soviet regime is less easy to justify. In a recently published book about the Jews in Russia during the 20th century, Russian-born Jewish writer Sonya Margolina goes so far as to call the Jewish role in supporting the Bolshevik regime the "historic sin of the Jews."[28] She points, for example, to the prominent role of Jews as commandants of Soviet *Gulag* concentration and labor camps, and the role of Jewish Communists in the systematic destruction of Russian churches. Moreover, she goes on, "The Jews of the entire world supported Soviet power, and remained silent in the face of any criticism from the opposition." In light of this record, Margolina offers a grim prediction:

> The exaggeratedly enthusiastic participation of the Jewish Bolsheviks in the subjugation and destruction of Russia is a sin that will be avenged ... Soviet power will be equated with Jewish power, and the furious hatred against the Bolsheviks will become hatred against Jews.

If the past is any indication, it is unlikely that many Russians will seek the revenge that Mar-

golina prophecies. Anyway, to blame "the Jews" for the horrors of Communism seems no more justifiable than to blame "white people" for Negro slavery, or "the Germans" for the Second World War or "the Holocaust."

Robert Wilton

Words of Grim Portent

Nicholas and his family are only the best known of countless victims of a regime that openly proclaimed its ruthless purpose. A few weeks after the Ekaterinburg massacre, the newspaper of the fledgling Red Army declared:[29]

> Without mercy, without sparing, we will kill our enemies by the scores of hundreds, let them be thousands, let them drown themselves in their own blood. For the blood of Lenin and Uritskii ... let there be floods of blood of the bourgeoisie — more blood, as much as possible.

Grigori Zinoviev, speaking at a meeting of Communists in September 1918, effectively pronounced a death sentence on ten million human beings: "We must carry along with us 90 million out of the 100 million of Soviet Russia's inhabitants. As for the rest, we have nothing to say to them. They must be annihilated."[30]

"The Twenty Million"

As it turned out, the Soviet toll in human lives and suffering proved to be much higher than Zinoviev's murderous rhetoric suggested. Rarely, if ever, has a regime taken the lives of so many of its own people.[31]

Citing newly-available Soviet KGB documents, historian Dmitri Volkogonov, head of a special Russian parliamentary commission, recently concluded that "from 1929 to 1952 ... 21.5 million [Soviet] people were repressed. Of these a third were shot, the rest sentenced to imprisonment, where many also died."[32]

Olga Shatunovskaya, a member of the Soviet Commission of Party Control, and head of a special commission during the 1960s appointed by premier Khrushchev, has similarly concluded: "From January 1, 1935 to June 22, 1941, 19,840,000 enemies of the people were arrested. Of these, seven million were shot in prison, and a majority of the others died in camp." These figures were also found in the papers of Politburo member Anastas Mikoyan.[33]

Robert Conquest, the distinguished specialist of Soviet history, recently summed up the grim record of Soviet "repression" of it own people:[34]

> ... It is hard to avoid the conclusion that ...the post-1934 death toll was well over ten million. To this should be added the victims of the 1930-1933 famine, the kulak deportations, and other anti-peasant campaigns, amounting to another ten million plus. The total is thus in the range of what the Russians now refer to as 'The Twenty Million'."

A few other scholars have given significantly higher estimates.[35]

Grigori Zinoviev

The Tsarist Era in Retrospect

With the dramatic collapse of Soviet rule, many Russians are taking a new and more respectful look at their country's pre-Communist history, including the era of the last Romanov emperor. While the Soviets — along with many in the West — have stereotypically portrayed this era as little more than an age of arbitrary despotism, cruel suppression and mass poverty, the reality is rather different. While it is true that the power of the Tsar was absolute, that only a small minority had any significant political voice, and that the mass of the empire's citizens were peasants, it is worth noting that Russians during the reign of Nicholas II had freedom of press, religion, assembly and association, protection of private property, and free labor unions. Sworn enemies of the regime, such as Lenin, were treated with remarkable leniency.[36]

During the decades prior to the outbreak of the First World War, the Russian economy was booming. In fact, between 1890 and 1913, it was the fast-

est growing in the world. New rail lines were opened at an annual rate double that of the Soviet years. Between 1900 and 1913, iron production increased by 58 percent, while coal production more than doubled.[37] Exported Russian grain fed all of Europe. Finally, the last decades of Tsarist Russia witnessed a magnificent flowering of cultural life.

Leon Trotsky

Everything changed with the First World War, a catastrophe not only for Russia, but for the entire West.

Monarchist Sentiment

In spite of (or perhaps because of) the relentless official campaign during the entire Soviet era to stamp out every uncritical memory of the Romanovs and imperial Russia, a virtual cult of popular veneration for Nicholas II has been sweeping Russia in recent years.

People have been eagerly paying the equivalent of several hours' wages to purchase portraits of Nicholas from street vendors in Moscow, St. Petersburg and other Russian cities. His portrait now hangs in countless Russian homes and apartments. In late 1990, all 200,000 copies of a first printing of a 30-page pamphlet on the Romanovs quickly sold out. Said one street vendor: "I personally sold four thousand copies in no time at all. It's like a nuclear explosion. People really want to know about their Tsar and his family." Grass roots pro-Tsarist and monarchist organizations have sprung up in many cities.

A public opinion poll conducted in 1990 found that three out of four Soviet citizens surveyed regard the killing of the Tsar and his family as a

Lenin addresses troops in Moscow, May 1920. Trotksy is standing to the right and facing the camera. Behind him (partially obscured) is Kamenev.

despicable crime.[38] Many Russian Orthodox believers regard Nicholas as a martyr. The independent "Orthodox Church Abroad" canonized the imperial family in 1981, and the Moscow-based Russian Orthodox Church has been under popular pressure to take the same step, in spite of its long-standing reluctance to touch this official taboo. The Russian Orthodox Archbishop of Ekaterinburg announced plans in 1990 to build a grand church at the site of the killings. "The people loved Emperor Nicholas," he said. "His memory lives with the people, not as a saint but as someone executed without court verdict, unjustly, as a sufferer for his faith and for orthodoxy."[39]

On the 75th anniversary of the massacre (in July 1993), Russians recalled the life, death and legacy of their last Emperor. In Ekaterinburg, where a large white cross festooned with flowers now marks the spot where the family was killed, mourners wept as hymns were sung and prayers were said for the victims.[40]

Reflecting both popular sentiment and new social-political realities, the white, blue and red horizontal tricolor flag of Tsarist Russia was officially

adopted in 1991, replacing the red Soviet banner. And in 1993, the imperial two-headed eagle was restored as the nation's official emblem, replacing the Soviet hammer and sickle. Cities that had been re-named to honor Communist figures — such as Leningrad, Kuibyshev, Frunze, Kalinin, and Gorky — have re-acquired their Tsarist-era names. Ekaterinburg, which had been named Sverdlovsk by the Soviets in 1924 in honor of the Soviet-Jewish chief, in September 1991 restored its pre-Communist name, which honors Empress Catherine I.

Young Russians at a recent demonstration in Moscow carry posters and portraits of the murdered Tsar Nicholas II.

Symbolic Meaning

In view of the millions that would be put to death by the Soviet rulers in the years to follow, the murder of the Romanov family might not seem of extraordinary importance. And yet, the event has deep symbolic meaning. In the apt words of Harvard University historian Richard Pipes:[41]

> The manner in which the massacre was prepared and carried out, at first denied and then justified, has something uniquely odious about it, something that radically distinguishes it from previous acts of regicide and brands it as a prelude to twentieth-century mass murder.

Another historian, Ivor Benson, characterized the killing of the Romanov family as symbolic of the tragic fate of Russia and, indeed, of the entire West, in this century of unprecedented agony and conflict.

The murder of the Tsar and his family is all the more deplorable because, whatever his failings as a monarch, Nicholas II was, by all accounts, a personally decent, generous, humane and honorable man.

The Massacre's Place in History

The mass slaughter and chaos of the First World War, and the revolutionary upheavals that swept Europe in 1917-1918, brought an end not only to the ancient Romanov dynasty in Russia, but to an entire continental social order. Swept away as well was the Hohenzollern dynasty in Germany, with its stable constitutional monarchy, and the ancient Habsburg dynasty of Austria-Hungary with its multinational central European empire. Europe's leading states shared not only the same Christian and Western cultural foundations, but most of the continent's reigning monarchs were related by blood. England's King George was, through his mother, a first cousin of Tsar Nicholas, and, through his father, a first cousin of Empress Alexandra. Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm was a first cousin of the German-born Alexandra, and a distant cousin of Nicholas.

More than was the case with the monarchies of western Europe, Russia's Tsar personally symbolized his land and nation. Thus, the murder of the last emperor of a dynasty that had ruled Russia for three centuries not only symbolically presaged the Communist mass slaughter that would claim so many Russian lives in the decades that followed, but was symbolic of the Communist effort to kill the soul and spirit of Russia itself.

Notes

1. Edvard Radzinksy, *The Last Tsar* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 327, 344-346.; Bill Keller, "Cult of the Last Czar," *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1990.
2. From an April 1935 entry in "Trotsky's Diary in Exile." Quoted in: Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1990), pp. 770, 787.; Robert K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra* (New York: 1976), pp. 496-497.; E. Radzinksy, *The Last Tsar* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 325-326.; Ronald W. Clark, *Lenin* (New York: 1988), pp. 349-350.
3. On Wilton and his career in Russia, see: Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), pp. 141-142, 144-146, 151-152, 159, 162, 169, and, Anthony Summers and Tom Mangold, *The File on the Tsar* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), pp. 102-104, 176.
4. AP dispatch from Moscow, *Toronto Star*, Sept. 26, 1991, p.

"Not Evil, But Love"

"... Father asks to have it passed on to all who have remained loyal to him and to those on whom they might have influence, that they not avenge him; he has forgiven and prays for everyone; and not to avenge themselves, but to remember that the evil which is now in the world will become yet more powerful, and that it is not evil which conquers evil, but love ..."

— Excerpt of a a letter by Grand Duchess Olga (eldest daughter of Nicholas and Alexandra), written in 1918 during exile in Tobolsk. From: *Letters of the Imperial Family from Confinement* (1974). Quoted in *The Orthodox Word* (Platina, Calif.), July-August 1990.

A2.; Similarly, a 1992 survey found that one-fourth of people in the republics of Belarus (White Russia) and Uzbekistan favored deporting all Jews to a special Jewish region in Russian Siberia. "Survey Finds Anti-Semitism on Rise in Ex-Soviet Lands," *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 1992, p. A4.

5. At the turn of the century, Jews made up 4.2 percent of the population of the Russian Empire. Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: 1990), p. 55 (fn.).

   By comparison, in the United States today, Jews make up less than three percent of the total population (according to the most authoritative estimates).

6. See individual entries in: H. Shukman, ed., *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of the Russian Revolution* (Oxford: 1988), and in: G. Wigoder, ed., *Dictionary of Jewish Biography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991).

   The prominent Jewish role in Russia's pre-1914 revolutionary underground, and in the early Soviet regime, is likewise confirmed in: Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter, *Roots of Radicalism* (New York: Oxford, 1982), pp. 92-94.

   In 1918, the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee had 15 members. German scholar Herman Fehst — citing published Soviet records — reported in his useful 1934 study that of six of these 15 were Jews. Herman Fehst, *Bolschewismus und Judentum: Das jüdische Element in der Führerschaft des Bolschewismus* (Berlin: 1934), pp. 68-72.; Robert Wilton, though, reported that in 1918 the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party had twelve members, of whom nine were of Jewish origin and three were of Russian ancestry. R. Wilton, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (IHR, 1993), p. 185.

7. After years of official suppression, this fact was acknowledged in 1991 in the Moscow weekly *Ogonyok*. See: *Jewish Chronicle* (London), July 16, 1991.; See also: Letter by L. Horwitz in *The New York Times*, Aug. 5, 1992, which cites information from the Russian journal "Native Land Archives."; "Lenin's Lineage?"'Jewish,' Claims Moscow News," *Forward* (New York City), Feb. 28, 1992, pp. 1, 3.; M. Checinski, *Jerusalem Post* (weekly international edition), Jan. 26, 1991, p. 9.

8. Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1990), p. 352.

9. Harrison E. Salisbury, *Black Night, White Snow: Russia's Revolutions, 1905-1917* (Doubleday, 1978), p. 475.; William H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1987), vol. 1, pp. 291-292.; Herman Fehst, *Bolschewismus und Judentum: Das jüdische Element in der Führerschaft des Bolschewismus* (Berlin: 1934), pp. 42-43.; P. N. Pospelov, ed., *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: A Biography* (Moscow: Progress, 1966), pp. 318-319.

   This meeting was held on October 10 (old style, Julian calendar), and on October 23 (new style). The six Jews who took part were: Uritsky, Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Sverdlov and Soklonikov.

   The Bolsheviks seized power in Petersburg on October 25 (old style) — hence the reference to the "Great October Revolution" — which is November 7 (new style).

10. William H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution* (1987), vol. 1, p. 292.; H. E. Salisbury, *Black Night, White Snow: Russia's Revolutions, 1905-1917* (1978), p. 475.

11. W. H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*, vol. 1, pp. 274, 299, 302, 306.; Alan Moorehead, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: 1965), pp. 235, 238, 242, 243, 245.; H. Fehst, *Bolschewismus und Judentum* (Berlin: 1934), pp. 44, 45.

12. H. E. Salisbury, *Black Night, White Snow: Russia's Revolutions, 1905-1917* (1978), p. 479-480.; Dmitri Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991), pp. 27-28, 32.; P. N. Pospelov, ed., *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: A Biography* (Moscow: Progress, 1966), pp. 319-320.

13. "Zionism versus Bolshevism: A struggle for the soul of the Jewish people," *Illustrated Sunday Herald* (London), February 8, 1920. Facsimile reprint in: William Grimstad, *The Six Million Reconsidered* (1979), p. 124. (At the time this essay was published, Churchill was serving as minister of war and air.)

14. David R. Francis, *Russia from the American Embassy* (New York: 1921), p. 214.

15. *Foreign Relations of the United States - 1918 - Russia*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: 1931), pp. 678-679.

16. *American Hebrew* (New York), Sept. 1920. Quoted in: Nathan Glazer & Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1963), p. 268.

17. C. Jacobson, "Jews in the USSR" in: *American Review on the Soviet Union*, August 1945, p. 52.; Avtandil Rukhadze, *Jews in the USSR: Figures, Facts, Comment* (Moscow: Novosti, 1978), pp. 10-11.

18. T. Emmons and B. M. Patenaude, eds., *War, Revolution and Peace in Russia: The Passages of Frank Golder, 1913-1927* (Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1992), pp. 320, 139, 317.

19. Louis Rapoport, *Stalin's War Against the Jews* (New York: Free Press, 1990), pp. 30, 31, 37. See also pp. 43, 44, 45, 49, 50.

20. Quoted in: Salo Baron, *The Russian Jews Under Tsars and Soviets* (New York: 1976), pp. 170, 392 (n. 4).

21. *The Atlantic*, Sept. 1991, p. 14.;

    In 1919, three-quarters of the Cheka staff in Kiev were Jews, who were careful to spare fellow Jews. By order, the Cheka took few Jewish hostages. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 824.; Israeli historian Louis Rapoport also confirms the dominant role played by Jews in the Soviet secret police throughout the 1920s and 1930s. L. Rapoport, *Stalin's War Against the Jews* (New York: 1990), pp. 30-31, 43-45, 49-50.

22. E. Radzinsky, *The Last Tsar* (1992), pp. 244, 303-304.; Bill Keller, "Cult of the Last Czar," *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1990.; See also: W. H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution*, vol. 2, p. 90.

23. Quoted in: *The New Republic*, Feb. 5, 1990, pp. 30 ff.; Because of the alleged anti-Semitism of *Russophobia*, in July 1992 Shafarevich was asked by the National Academy of Sciences (Washington, DC) to resign as an associate member of that prestigious body.

24. R. Wilton, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (1993), p. 148.

25. Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 787.; Robert K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra* (New York: 1976), pp. 496-497.

26. An article in a 1907 issue of the respected American journal *National Geographic* reported on the revolutionary situation brewing in Russia in the years before the First World War: "... The revolutionary leaders nearly all belong to the Jewish race, and the most effective revolutionary agency is the Jewish Bund ..." W. E. Curtis, "The Revolution in Russia," *The National Geographic Magazine*, May 1907, pp. 313-314.

    Piotr Stolypin, probably imperial Russia's greatest statesman, was murdered in 1911 by a Jewish assassin.

    In 1907, Jews made up about ten percent of Bolshevik party membership. In the Menshevik party, another faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, the Jewish proportion was twice as high. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 365.; See also: R. Wilton, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (1993), pp. 185-186.

27. Martin Gilbert, *Atlas of Jewish History* (1977), pp. 71, 74.; In spite of the restrictive "Pale" policy, in 1897 about 315,000 Jews were living outside the Pale, most of them illegally. In 1900 more than 20,000 were living in the capital of St. Petersburg, and another 9,000 in Moscow.

28. Sonja Margolina, *Das Ende der Lügen: Russland und die Juden im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: 1992). Quoted in: "Ein ganz heisses Eisen angefasst," *Deutsche National-Zeitung* (Munich), July 21, 1992, p. 12.

29. *Krasnaia Gazetta* ("Red Gazette"), September 1, 1918. Quoted in: Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), pp. 820, 912 (n. 88).
30. Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: 1990), p. 820.
31. Contrary to what a number of western historians have for years suggested, Soviet terror and the *Gulag* camp system did not begin with Stalin. At the end of 1920, Soviet Russia already had 84 concentration camps with approximately 50,000 prisoners. By October 1923 the number had increased to 315 camps with 70,000 inmates. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 836.
32. Cited by historian Robert Conquest in a review/ article in *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 23, 1993, p. 27.
33. *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 23, 1993, p. 27.
34. Review/article by Robert Conquest in *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 23, 1993, p. 27.;
    In the "Great Terror" years of 1937-1938 alone, Conquest has calculated, approximately one million were shot by the Soviet secret police, and another two million perished in Soviet camps. R. Conquest, *The Great Terror* (New York: Oxford, 1990), pp. 485-486.;
    Conquest has estimated that 13.5 to 14 million people perished in the collectivization ("dekulakization") campaign and forced famine of 1929-1933. R. Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow* (New York: Oxford, 1986), pp. 301-307.
35. Russian professor Igor Bestuzhev-Lada, writing in a 1988 issue of the Moscow weekly *Nedelya*, suggested that during the Stalin era alone (1935-1953), as many as 50 million people were killed, condemned to camps from which they never emerged, or lost their lives as a direct result of the brutal "dekulakization" campaign against the peasantry. "Soviets admit Stalin killed 50 million," *The Sunday Times*, London, April 17, 1988.;
    R. J. Rummel, a professor of political science at the University of Hawaii, has recently calculated that 61.9 million people were systematically killed by the Soviet Communist regime from 1917 to 1987. R. J. Rummel, *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1917* (Transaction, 1990).
36. Because of his revolutionary activities, Lenin was sentenced in 1897 to three years exile in Siberia. During this period of "punishment," he got married, wrote some 30 works, made extensive use of a well-stocked local library, subscribed to numerous foreign periodicals, kept up a voluminous correspondence with supporters across Europe, and enjoyed numerous sport hunting and ice skating excursions, while all the time receiving a state stipend. See: Ronald W. Clark, *Lenin* (New York: 1988), pp. 42-57.; P. N. Pospelov, ed., *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin: A Biography* (Moscow: Progress, 1966), pp. 55-75.
37. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), pp. 187-188.;
38. *The Nation*, June 24, 1991, p. 838.
39. Bill Keller, "Cult of the Last Czar," *The New York Times*, Nov. 21, 1990.
40. "Nostalgic for Nicholas, Russians Honor Their Last Czar," *Los Angeles Times*, July 18, 1993.; "Ceremony marks Russian czar's death," *Orange County Register*, July 17, 1993.
41. R. Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (1990), p. 787.

Let us say humbly, but publicly, that we resent corruption in politics, dishonesty in business, faithlessness in morals, pornography in literature, coarseness in language, chaos in music, meaninglessness in art.

— Will Durant

Ingrid Weckert's

FLASHPOINT

The Book that Dares to Ask: *Cui bono* (Who Benefitted?) from Reichskristallnacht

Kristallnacht—the attacks on Jewish property throughout Germany in response to the assassination of a German diplomat by a young Jew in Paris — signalled an ominous turning point in relations between the Third Reich and *international* Jewry.

But what was the *real* story of the shooting in Paris? Was Herschel Grynszpan a "lone gunman"? Or was he commanded by shadowy backers? And what was the role of Vladimir Jabotinsky, mentor to Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir?

Who bears the responsibility for the riots? Was it Hitler? Goebbels? The German people? Or a shadowy cabal of provocateurs?

Historian Ingrid Weckert asks — and answers—these bold questions in ***Flashpoint***, her gripping investigation of the instigators, victims, and beneficiaries of *Kristallnacht*.

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The Third Reich's Place in History

Throwing Off Germany's Imposed History

A Conversation with Professor Ernst Nolte

Ian B. Warren

Some thirteen years ago, a leading figure of German academic life, Professor Ernst Nolte of the Free University of Berlin, drew back the curtain from a forbidden topic of public discourse in his country. With a lecture delivered in Munich entitled, "Between Historical Legend and Revisionism? The Third Reich in the Perspective of 1980," the prominent historian fired a warning shot across the bow of Germany's intellectual establishment.[1]

Six years later, a provocative essay by Dr. Nolte touched off an unprecedented exchange of letters, essays and other polemics among leading scholars of modern German history. This "historians' dispute," or *Historikerstreit*, was marked — in the words of the editor of one American scholarly journal — by "an intensity unprecedented in the public life of the [German] Federal Republic." Moreover, "it soon evolved into a major intellectual conflict over the meaning of the Nazi past for contemporary West German political and cultural identity."[2]

A complex controversy, the *Historikerstreit* involves questions about the political uses of history, differences in the historical perspective of generations, historical research methods, and the limits of objectivity in dealing with major events in a nation's life. At the core of the dispute is a question with profound social-political ramifications for Germany and the Western world: how is the legacy of Hitler and the Third Reich to be integrated into a long-term view of German history? At stake here, obviously, are questions of importance not merely to academics, but issues of essential consequence for German national self-understanding and self-definition, and for Germany's place in the world.

The spark that set ablaze Germany's intellectual world was an essay by Nolte that appeared on June 6, 1986, in the prestigious German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.[3] In this short piece, entitled "The Past That Will Not Pass Away," Nolte argued that the current generation of Germans, forty years after the end of the Second World War, should be allowed to embrace its national past without a permanent sense of guilt. "Talk about 'the guilt of the Germans'," he observed, "all too blithely overlooks the similarity to the talk about 'the guilt of the Jews,' which was a main argument of the National Socialists.... All the attention devoted to the Final Solution simply diverts our attention from important facts about the National Socialist period ..." When dealing with the history of the Third Reich, he went on to note with regret, the most basic rules of historical scholarship seem to have been suspended. In fact, "every past is knowable in its complexity ... black-and-white images of politically involved contemporaries should be correctable; earlier histories should be subject to revision."[4]

As early as his 1980 lecture, "Historical Legend and Revisionism?," Nolte had warned:[5]

> The negative vitality of a historical phenomenon represents a great danger for the discipline of history. A permanent negative or positive image necessarily has the character of a myth, which is an actualized form of a legend. This is true because a myth like this can be made to found or support an ideology of state ...

Therefore, Nolte said, "subjecting the history of the Third Reich to revision ... seems to me to be a difficult and pressing task." He went on to propose "three postulates" as a basis for a future Third Reich historiography:

> 1. The Third Reich should be removed from the historical isolation in which it remains even when it is treated within the framework of an epoch of fascism. It must be studied in the context of the disruptions, crisis, fears, diagnoses, and therapies that were generated by the industrial revolution ...
>
> 2. The instrumentalization to which the Third Reich owes a good part of its continuing fascination should be prevented ...
>
> 3. The demonization of the Third Reich is unacceptable ... [Rather, it] must become an object of scholarship, of a scholarship that is not aloof from politics, but that is also not merely a handmaiden of politics.

Ian Warren is the pen name of a professor who teaches at a university in the Midwest. Although Prof. Nolte did not originally understand that this interview was to appear in the *Journal*, he assented to publication after reviewing the complete text.

What Nolte's many critics — both in Germany and abroad — found most distressing in his writings was, predictably, his iconoclastic discussion of the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question." Hitler's wartime treatment of the Jews, the historian seemed to suggest, might legitimately be regarded as a defensive response by the Führer to the threat of Bolshevik mass murder of the Germans. In his 1980 lecture, Nolte said:[6]

> ... It is hard to deny that Hitler had good reason to be convinced of his enemies' determination to annihilate long before the first information about the events in Auschwitz became public ... [Zionist leader] Chaim Weizmann's statement in the first days of September 1939, that in this war the Jews of all the world would fight on England's side ... could lay a foundation for the thesis that Hitler would have been justified in treating the German Jews as prisoners of war, and thus interning them.

In his 1986 essay, Nolte posed for consideration two questions, which have since been widely quoted, that he called "permissible, even unavoidable":[7]

> Did the National Socialists or Hitler perhaps commit an "Asiatic" deed [of mass killing] merely because they and their ilk considered themselves to be potential victims of an "Asiatic" deed [by the Soviets]? Was the [Soviet] Gulag Archipelago not primary to Auschwitz? Was the Bolshevik murder of an entire class not the logical and factual *prius* of the "racial murder" of National Socialism?

Reaction to such statements came quickly. A few weeks later, well-known leftist social theorist and political activist Jürgen Habermas responded in a detailed article, "A Kind of Settlement of Damages: The Apologetic Tendencies in German History Writing," which appeared in the liberal Hamburg weekly *Die Zeit*.[8] During the months that followed, many other scholars joined in the heated discussion. Reaction to Nolte's writings was not confined to mere rhetoric. In 1988 his automobile was destroyed in a terrorist fire-bombing attack carried out by an anarchist-leftist group.[9]

Few scholars speak with greater authority on Third Reich history than Professor Nolte. Over the years, his sometimes unconventional insights into twentieth century history and political philosophy — presented in several books and numerous articles — have earned him wide acclaim. Probably his best-known work is the 1963 study, *Der Faschismus in Seiner Epoche* — first published in English in 1965 under the title *Three Faces of Fascism* — which compares the phenomenon of "fascism" in France, Italy and Germany. Widely regarded as a path-breaking and classic work on the subject, it is still virtually required reading for every serious student of the matter.[10]

As even the most critical of his intellectual adversaries will concede, the often bitter controversy he touched off has been a landmark development in German awareness of twentieth-century European history. More than any other single person, he has encouraged a profound national self-examination of contemporary history, which in turn has engendered a new openness and maturity of thinking.

Prof. Nolte in his Berlin home.

Last May, this writer was afforded the opportunity of a comprehensive conversation with Professor Nolte at his Berlin home. During this meeting, this tall and distinguished-looking scholar offered a thoughtful assessment of the role of the historian, and of the critical function of historical revisionism in the context of national identity, within the context of the so-called *Historikerstreit*. As one whose scholarship and personal values are closely intertwined, Nolte's perspective during our conversation was analytical and yet not devoid of passionate commitment to the values of scholarly historical inquiry.

Q: It has been more than a dozen years since you first began warning about the creation of a historical legend or myth. In doing so, were you trying to resist a development that you saw happening, perhaps especially among German historians, perhaps even among world leaders? Let me also then ask about your motivation for undertaking such a dar-

ing and difficult, even dangerous task.

Nolte: I would say that every reigning opinion, every general conformism, has a tendency to become a myth. Let me offer the example of Marxism, which at its core contained factual observations but was then transformed into a legend/myth. Looking back, Leninism was the inevitable outcome of an entire world-historical development, the future of which was to be the Soviet Union — ultimately to be the central state, even what might be called a world state, where all the languages and all the nations would be melted together. This is a myth, to be connected with some very early myths in history. It was followed by the long undisputed dominance of what may be called "anti-fascism," an interpretation of history that has also became a myth.

I wanted to warn against this mythologizing because it is contrary to a major characteristic of scholarship: to make revisions, and to place knowledge and facts within new contexts. I am not speaking here about "revisionism" as based on revision for its own sake, although I am always referred to as a "revisionist." I am not a revisionist for revisionism's sake. In my opinion, one of the most necessary revisions, perhaps the most important single revision that must be made, is to rectify the practice of interpreting Germany history by looking only at German history, that is, to seek out only German sources for what happened in Germany, especially during the "Third Reich" period of 1933-1945. It is always a question of interpreting, of understanding National Socialism in its correct context.

I am of the opinion that what you may call epochal influences — which come out of the character of a certain epoch and not so much out of national origins — must be accentuated. In my book, *Three Faces of Fascism*, the term "fascism" refers to a broad European phenomenon and concept under which National Socialism is to be subsumed, although it has its own distinctive characteristics. In my view this means that this epochal character is more important than the national character. In the context of what we in Germany call *Gesellschaftgeschichte*, that is, "societal history," the concept of a national German *Sonderweg* ("special path") is most essential. For my part, I do not believe that the national character of "fascism" should be placed exclusively in the forefront.[11]

During the fifties there was the so-called theory of totalitarianism, which viewed this as an epochal idea. Modern totalitarianism is not to be confounded with despotism, for example, because it is quite a new phenomena, essentially connected with one single epochal event. Then came a tendency to examine the national roots of this world phenomenon. For my part, in 1963 I tried to accentuate its epochal characteristic, but with a difference: looking at theories of totalitarianism not so much in terms of the outward conformity or the formal similarity between two great non-liberal, anti-liberal totalitarian movements — namely National Socialism and Communism. Rather, I took the view that the enmity between these two movements needed to be taken very seriously. My book on fascism could therefore have been entitled "The European Civil War," a title I did use for a work published in 1987.[12] This idea was certainly implied in *Three Faces of Fascism*, for example in my definition of fascism as anti-Marxism — a political movement that sought to annihilate the enemy by establishing opposite aims, while often employing similar methods. This all supposes that there was an enemy *who did try to annihilate*. In this respect, the whole concept of a European civil war was already implied in my first book.

What was my motive for writing on German history and for getting involved in a public controversy? Certainly it was personal, but I reject the idea that it was to apologize for Germany. Many people say this, but I have always said that I would hope to say the same things if I were an American or if I were a Frenchman. It is not tolerable *in scholarship*, in science, to maintain forever such a one-sided picture of the world. It must be complemented by taking into consideration the forces that this ["fascist"] movement considered as the main enemy.

Let me make another point. We should not speak of the "specter of Communism." Lenin never regarded himself merely as a specter. He believed himself to be a world-historical figure. In my view, this notion of a violent World Communist Revolution was not just imaginary. So, in this respect, I wanted to draw a more even-handed picture of the world, even though it cannot be a truly complete picture, because the archives of the former Soviet Union are just now beginning to be opened.

It is a curious phenomenon that Socialist ideas, which were so very influential in Europe during the 19th century, never won a political victory. (The only exception was the Paris Commune of 1871, which lasted for just a few weeks.)

Then, in 1917, a Marxist state came into existence for the first time; a state that was to become the greatest in the world. This is a fact of tremendous importance. Not to take this seriously, not to take the enemies of this "fascist" phenomenon seriously, seems superficial. Above all, it prevents one from seeing what a curious fact it is that National Socialism, the most formidable enemy of this phenomenon of [Soviet] Socialism as a state power, had to copy its aspects to a certain extent. Thus, instead of being complete opposites, there were considerable similarities between the two.

Q: There is a good basis in biological studies of isomorphism for the view that in cases of conflict each side takes on the characteristics of the opponent. Is this applicable here?

Nolte: It is not only outward characteristics, for example, that are important when somebody has to defend himself from an enemy. But in this case, there is also inner similarity. And this is not so self-evident. One could, if people were not so eager to always detect supposed political aspects in my work, discern the paradox of the real victory of socialism against its enemies — but not in the way as the socialists themselves had imagined.

Perhaps if there were *real* National Socialists here in Germany, they would say that Mr. Nolte is a dangerous apologist for the Bolsheviks because he tries to show that they were powerful enough to win a victory that they themselves had not thought possible; indeed, one which was completely unanticipated, but nevertheless clearly-defined. But there are no real National Socialists. There are only, let us say, "nostalgic National Socialists," and so people always speak of "apologists."

Q: So perhaps your worst fault is that your arguments are too subtle, and can therefore be more easily attacked in a superficial but inaccurate way?

Nolte: Well, but on the other hand, my main point is very simple. Because if, in intellectual life, one side is completely victorious, as in the case of what is called the Left, then the result is a sterile conformism. The general conformism in this country is leftist, which is paradoxical because the Left was originally a movement of protest, a movement of those who do *not* conform with the general opinion. I said "no" to this prevailing sentiment.

I said that National Socialism has to be understood historically, that it is not to be mythologized in this sense. You have to look not only at the one side, but there are other sides to the question, for example, of whether National Socialism was not exclusively anti-modernist. This is a very important trait, which cannot be ignored. If one says this, a common rejoinder is to charge that "you are closer to this phenomenon than we, so you must be an apologist." As a scholar, one must try to find out the other side of any historical phenomenon that has been presented with a universal simplicity. Thus, in America, in the aftermath of the Civil War the prevailing view was, at first, only that of the righteous cause of the victor, but later historians tried to better understand the South, to find some good side to the Southern cause, to explore its politics and historical context.

Q: There is certainly a long revisionist tradition in America. But it seems to me that there are some important questions that have still not been dealt with in the *Historikerstreit*. For example, apparently no one has dealt with the implications of the important role of American historians in forming our understanding of Third Reich history. Perhaps there should be a debate between American and German historians on Third Reich history? And if differences emerge, would these be based on who the victors were?

THE TIMES WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 6 1939

JEWS TO FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACIES

DR. WEIZMANN'S LETTER TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN

The Jewish Agency for Palestine in London yesterday issued the text of correspondence between Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the agency, and the Prime Minister. Dr. Weizmann in his letter to Mr. Chamberlain, dated August 29, wrote: —

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,—In this hour of supreme crisis the consciousness that the Jews have a contribution to make to the defence of sacred values impels me to write this letter. I wish to confirm, in the most explicit manner, the declarations which I and my colleagues have made during the last month, and especially in the last week, that the Jews stand by Great Britain and will fight on the side of the democracies.

Our urgent desire is to give effect to these declarations. We wish to do so in a way entirely consonant with the general scheme of British action, and therefore would place ourselves, in matters big and small, under the coordinating direction of his Majesty's Government. The Jewish Agency is ready to enter into immediate arrangements for utilizing Jewish man-power, technical ability, resources, &c.

The Jewish Agency has recently had differences in the political field with the Mandatory Power. We would like these differences to give way before the greater and more pressing necessities of the time. We ask you to accept this declaration in the spirit in which it is made.

Shortly before the outbreak of war in September 1939, Chaim Weizmann, president of both the "Jewish Agency" and the World Zionist Organization (and later Israel's first president), pledged that "the Jews" would "stand by" Britain in the impending war against Germany. This historic declaration was published in the London *Times* of September 6, 1939, and is reproduced here in facsimile. Nolte cites Weizmann's letter in his 1980 lecture and in his most recent book, *Streitpunkte*.

Nolte: I would say that the first German historians to deal with the Third Reich were the old established historians, such as Gerhard Ritter (1888-1967). Ritter displayed a certain defensive caution and self-consciousness. National Socialism, he argued, was not a Prussian phenomenon; it was much more an Austrian phenomenon, and so on. Or consider the case of Friedrich Meinecke, who was a very fine and prominent historian even before the First World War. Meinecke said that in National Socialism the worst traits of German history came to the fore. I think that this older generation of German historians remained in the foreground until the beginning of the sixties.

Then came a younger generation of historians, many of them connected with the Institute for Contemporary History ("Institut für Zeitgeschichte") in Munich, which was established as a center for the study of the National Socialist epoch. These younger historians, such as Martin Broszat (1926-1989), brought a different point of view, one not connected with their own experience in the period prior to 1945.[13] This new generation was inclined to underline the conformity or compliance of the older generation with National Socialism and the Hitler regime. This tendency developed its most extreme form in connection with the 1968 revolt when, for the first time, it was Germany as such that was condemned. The outlook of this younger generation was essentially formed by the connection with the United States. They *all* had been in the United States. It was, so to speak, the appropriation of the American interpretation by the younger generation of Germans.

Q: This seems to me a most important point to make.

Nolte: Yes, if you conduct certain things to an extreme, you may become an enemy of your former friend. And this is what happened in Germany. For most of our common history, we have normally been on good terms with the Americans. But the more extreme of the new generation of German historians became so leftist that they fought against "American imperialism" and the ideas connected with it. The extreme wing of the generation of 1968 became anti-American, because it had such a strong dose of Americanism, of American television, and so forth. There were even a few who developed a positive view of National Socialism.

Consider the case of Armin Mohler, who is Swiss, and for this reason has a certain "bonus": he has been allowed to say many things that a German could not say.[14] It is this characteristic, a certain moral "higher standing," that permits him greater freedom to speak out.

Q: Because such a person is regarded as not self-interested; a certain objectivity of the outsider?

Nolte: No, because such a person is connected with people who were persecuted. In Germany, the most characteristic "bonus" in this in this sense is the Jewish advantage. Jews are permitted to say many things here that no German may say.

Q: As long as you are part of the victim class?

Nolte: Yes, then you have a considerable advantage.

Q: A certain legitimacy?

Nolte: A legitimacy that others do not have. In the case of Mohler, who is Swiss and therefore an outsider, he wrote a book on the conservative revolution in Germany during the Weimar Republic that, although it did not identify with Spengler and Carl Schmitt and so on, tried to evaluate them in a positive sense.[15]

There has always been a certain, let us say, "part" of the German Right that is connected with National Socialism; it has remained alive because it is so important. A good example is Richard Wagner, who was connected with National Socialism because of his views, and because of the National Socialist preference for him. In spite of this, Wagner was never totally rejected or discredited in the postwar era. In America, and in many other countries, there have always been Wagnerians, and his operas have always been performed. On the other hand, a writer like Ernst Jünger has, to a certain extent, been "implicated" because, during the twenties, he wrote many things that are very similar to what the National Socialists said.

We know that the whole of the so-called German resistance came from the former Right. Now, of course, they are naturally appreciated, which means that the rightist tradition was not totally destroyed. There have always been those who are sympathetic towards figures such as Carl Schmitt, Oswald Spengler, and so on. For example, the great poet Gottfried Benn "emigrated" into the *Wehrmacht*. It was a position that, for a short time during the early fifties, seemed to come into the foreground.

Against this tendency of a larger renaissance of the non-National Socialist intellectual right, an important movement of reaction established itself. This was the so-called "Group 47" ("*Gruppe 47*") of young writers, poets and so forth that met for the first time, I think, in 1953 or 1955, under the direction of Hans-Werner Richter, a former Communist. Among those who belonged to this circle was, for example, Günter Grass, who is today most important. Erich Kuby, for example, and others, fought strongly against German rearmament in 1955 and 1956. I myself belonged to the outer margins of this movement, something that is not known or remembered. These people were very much disturbed by what seemed to be a renaissance of National Socialism in connection with German rearmament. At

that time, you know, there was a dispute about how the former SS officers were to be treated. Should they be accepted into the *Bundeswehr*, West Germany's postwar armed forces? Those who were concerned about this development, and tried to oppose it, joined together in what was at that time called the *Grünwälderkreis*, an association of intellectuals that has been largely forgotten.[16]

A young German at a protest demonstration in May 1992 in Stuttgart. His sign reads: "Down with the lie of unique [German] guilt for the [Second World] war, and one-sided anti-German atrocity propaganda." Public opinion polls show that a majority of Germans want an end to the unceasing propaganda of special national guilt and atonement imposed by the victorious Allied powers in the aftermath of the Second World War. Particularly in recent years, the gulf between popular sentiment, on the one hand, and the policies and outlook of the German media and establishment, on the other, has been widening.

This "Group 47" came to dominate German intellectual life from the beginning of the sixties onward. As the student rebels came into the forefront during the mid-sixties, one may speak of Leftist conformism in Germany. In the beginning, I felt quite close to this movement, although at that time I was an unknown schoolteacher. During the period when the left seemed to be very isolated, when leftist ideas seemed to be in retreat, I sympathized with them. I never supported leftist conformism, though, and I have always considered the victory of conformity to be rather dangerous.

Q: What do you think has been the main effect or consequences of your raising of these issues?

Nolte: Well, I believe that it was indeed what it was called at that time, in 1986, a *Tabubruch* — a breaking of a taboo. To speak, in the same sentence, of Auschwitz and the Gulag [Soviet camp system] — that was really terrible. Today this has become a triviality. It has become quite common to speak of "as was the case with the Gulag and Auschwitz," while then making some distinctions. For that matter, I also made distinctions. Still, to name these two phenomena, and the two personalities — Stalin and Hitler — in the same sentence, was to break a taboo of the time.

What I did was no great achievement, though, because such a comparison had already been made during the fifties, with its emphasis on the theory of totalitarianism. It was more a matter of courage, let us say, than of insight.

Even before the *Historikerstreit* that resulted, I had the feeling that the predominance of Jürgen Habermas, who was my main antagonist, as you know, was already a little bit menaced. Moreover, his reaction to what I wrote had a certain nervous tone, as did that of other adversaries. If you re-read what Habermas and those like him wrote at that time, you will see that in most cases there is a certain defensiveness in their arguments.

With German reunification, of course, everything has changed, because one of the main points made by Habermas and his friends was that if you do not accept their way of interpreting German history, then you endanger peaceful coexistence [between the West and the USSR]. You also showed yourself to be a German nationalist who wanted to reunite the nation by annexing the communist "German Democratic Republic," a view that was regarded as the most dangerous one that could be taken, and which therefore had to be rejected unconditionally. As things have happened — and as none of us foresaw, least of all Habermas — this entire position is no longer valid. You can no longer say that if somebody speaks in the same sentence of the Gulag and Auschwitz, he is endangering world peace! And so there is a great dark silence.

Q: A resounding silence?

Nolte: Yes. So far no one has drawn up a balance sheet showing precisely what has happened. The very paradoxical thing is that these, let us say, more moderate leftist social historians, such as Habermas, have been assigned the gigantic task — paradoxically enough — of reorganizing higher education in the former East Germany, to define "Germanness" there. And their influence is very direct.

Those in East Germany who have presumably given up their Stalinist orthodoxy, and other Germans who have supposedly lost their fear of endan-

gering the world's peace by discussing these issues, are much closer to each other than those who, like me, are called "rightists." They simply do not speak about it. In this respect, one may speak of a certain renaissance of this leftist conformism. A consequence of this is that, to a great extent, the historians and political scientists in charge in the universities in East Germany are my silent but very active antagonists. This is a curious and paradoxical role, but an understandable situation.

Q: Let me ask you a hypothetical question. Seeing how things have gone, would you have done anything differently? What's to be done now? What is the most important thing to do now about this problem of legend-building?

Nolte: Well, if I had known what would happen, I probably would not have written that June 1986 article that was the starting-point of the *Historikerstreit* debate. Instead, I simply would have published my book on the European Civil War, which deals with the same subject as that article, but in which my arguments are much more fully explicated. In a newspaper article one is forced to write in a certain provocative way, and that article was, perhaps, too accentuated. So I may complain that in that case I was more publicist than scholar.

On the other hand, I had been invited by a rather leftist organization to give an address, and they had asked me to speak on this subject. It was not my initiative. Then the group rejected the topic and withdrew the invitation. I could not simply capitulate. Because I had already written the text, I gave it to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Today, clearly, there is no longer a Marxist danger, and there is, therefore, no need to fight against it. This was certainly one of my original intentions in raising the historical issues I did. Certainly, I was opposing a kind of unilateralism. At the same time, I was simply following the rules of scholarship. Thus, it is now necessary to write the history of the 20th century anew — particularly the period from 1917 to 1989 or 1991. And you must ask yourself if the histories that have been written during this period can stand the test of time and of subsequent events.

Of course, this same question applies to my own work as well, because it was created during this particular era. Recently I wrote an article for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* entitled "The Fragility of Triumph." Recently there has been quite a lot of talk about the triumph of liberal democracy and the beginning of a "New World Order." In my view, though, this is not a solid, but rather a fragile triumph. I try to show that this fragility is necessarily connected with our system, the liberal [or liberal-democratic] system, and therefore cannot win such a total (or totalitarian) victory as that of the Bolsheviks in 1917.

I believe that new problems of historical interpretation have arisen since the fall of Communism. I hope still to be able to do something in that regard, although my main task remains that of a historian. My latest book recapitulates, to a certain extent, everything I've written. Paradoxically, and for the first time, National Socialism is the sole subject of the work, but on a higher dimension, so to speak. This work is not entitled "National Socialism: A History," or anything like that. Its title is *Streitpunkte: Heutige und künftige Kontroversen um den Nationalsozialismus* ("Points of Contention: Current and Future Controversies Concerning National Socialism"). It is a sort of 'literature on the literature,' in which I explain the various points of conflict. For example, was there more historical continuity or discontinuity in the phenomenon of National Socialism? There was both, of course, but which factor is more important? Or, can National Socialism be called anti-modern or modern, or both? These are the current controversies I try to explain. And, naturally, my own views are evident throughout the book. [*Streitpunkte* is reviewed elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*.]

Because I seek to be objective where such a perspective is difficult to achieve, I imagine that the latter third of the book, in particular, will cause some people to again say this is the writing of an "apologist." However, this is *no* apology, but rather simply an effort to offer a many-sided picture based on some clearly acknowledged and universally valid maxims or guidelines. This means, for example, that the history of National Socialism must be subjected to same critical methods as every other historical phenomenon. This does not mean, of course, that this is exactly like other historical phenomena, but rather that, by applying the same methods, one will best discover the differences.

Because I have now entered my eighth decade, I think this will be my last work as an historian of fascism. In a general sense, this work which began in 1963, actually started with a small article on Mussolini I wrote three years earlier. Now, with the completion of *Streitpunkte*, I do not intend to write any more on this subject. I want to return — at least to a certain degree — to philosophy, which was my point of departure. I do not mean so-called "scientific philosophy." While it is not yet entirely clear in my mind what sort of philosophy this will be, I intend an approach that takes history more into account than is normally the case with philosophers.

NOTES

1. This lecture is published in English in: James Knowlton and Truett Cates, translators, *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1993), pp. 1-15.

   An adaptation of this 1980 address also appears in English under the title, "Between Myth and Revisionism? The Third Reich in the Perspective of the 1980s," in: H. W. Koch, ed., *Aspects of the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin's

Press, 1985), pp. 17-38.

2. Anson Rabinbach writing in *New German Critique*, No. 44, Spring-Summer 1988, p. 3. This special issue is devoted to the *Historikerstreit*.
3. Nolte's article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 6, 1986, is entitled "Die Vergangenheit, die nicht vergehen will" ("The past that will not pass: A speech that could be written but not delivered'). An English-language translation appears in: *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (1993), pp. 18-23.
4. *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, pp. 19, 20.
5. From Nolte's 1980 lecture, in: *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (1993), pp. 3-4, 9, 14-15.
   In his June 1986 *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* article, Nolte wrote: "Those who desire to envision history not as a mythologem but rather in its essential context are forced to a central conclusion: If history, in all its darkness and its horrors, but also in its confusing novelty, is to have meaning for coming generations, this meaning must be the liberation from collectivist thinking." (*Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, p. 22.)
6. *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, p. 8.
7. *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, p. 22.
   In his 1980 lecture, Nolte wrote that "Auschwitz is not primarily a result of traditional anti-Semitism and was not just one more case of 'genocide.' It was the fear-borne reaction to the acts of annihilation that took place during the Russian Revolution. The German copy was many times more irrational than the original ... but it fails to alter the fact that the so-called annihilation of the Jews by the Third Reich was a reaction or a distorted copy and not a first act or an original." (*Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?*, pp. 13-14.)
8. *Die Zeit*, July 11, 1986. Habermas' essay appears in English in: *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler?* (1993), pp. 34-44.
9. See: "Attack Against Auto of German 'Revisionist' Historian," *IHR Newsletter*, July 1988, p. 5.; Nolte mentioned the attack during his conversation with this writer, but seemed to treat it as a minor incident.
   On February 6, 1993, about 20 youths of this same anarchist-leftist group of "autonomists" (*Autonomen*) attacked and brutally beat Alain de Benoist, the noted French intellectual and editor, at a lecture in Berlin.
10. The English-language edition, entitled *Three Faces of Fascism*, was first published in London in 1965, and then, in 1966, in New York by Holt, Rinehart and Winston. In this study Nolte examines the phenomena of the French "Action Française," Italian Fascism and German National Socialism.
11. This is a reference to a long-standing argument among historians as to whether the emergence of a German national state in the 19th century followed a process of "normal" development similar to other Western nations, particularly in terms of democratic institutions, or whether it had a separate dynamic of its own. The latter notion of a German *Sonderweg* or "special path" implies a development without democratic values.
12. *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg, 1917-1945: Nationalsozialismus und Bolschewismus* (Proyläen, 1987).
13. This generation of historians, Nolte said to me, "accepted, to a certain degree at least, the reproaches made against this older generation that they had not been so innocent, that they had participated in the National Socialist regime. Take the case of Gerhard Ritter. He had obviously been persecuted. In 1944 he was arrested, and was jailed for his connection with the 20th of July plot to overthrow Hitler. Earlier, though, he had been a very pronounced German nationalist. Doubtless he had certain sympathies for the National Socialists as long as they appeared to be just German nationalists and anti-Communists. Later on, though, he became critical, and was then arrested."
14. Armin Mohler, a leading figure in the European intellectual movement known as the "New Right" (*Nouvelle Droite*), is the author of several books, including a major study of German intellectual conservatism during the Weimar Republic, *Die konservative Revolution in Deutschland, 1918-1932* (first edition published in 1950). In a more recent book, *Der Nasenring* (1989), Mohler deals sympathetically with the revisionist critique of the Holocaust story. An article based on this writer's recent interview with Mohler will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal*.
15. Carl Schmitt (1888-1985) is a leading figure in the intellectual history of German conservatism. His work is a critical part of a revived focus on key ideas of national political institutions and the constitutional principles of government.
16. According to Nolte, "This *Gruppe 47* was connected to one of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party who was, for a short time, mayor of Berlin. I first met him in an assembly of this organization where, as a young attorney, he spoke and later on he had a great political career."

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

Britain's Great War Promise

Few documents have had as shadowy a past, or as ominous a future, as the British government's 1917 pledge to the House of Rothschild. By it the British Empire broke its promise to the Arabs to court what it believed to be a far mightier power, and in the name of the Jewish people international Zionism won a foothold in Palestine.

Arthur Balfour's letter to Lord Rothschild — the culmination of years of intrigue — laid the foundation for the dramatic birth of Israel in 1948, for the dispossession of the Palestinians, for the five Israeli wars which followed, and for the gradual but ever deepening involvement of America in the Middle East morass.

Robert John's *Behind the Balfour Declaration* reveals the shadowy — and shocking — maneuverings which resulted in the British promise to the Zionists, and the secret document which exposes British perfidy. Dr. John, co-author of the monumental *The Palestine Diary*, and a specialist in Palestinian history, traces the moves by which Zionist negotiators like Chaim Weizmann and Louis Brandeis played off one empire against another to extract the guarantee that has changed the face of the Middle East and the world.

Behind the Balfour Declaration

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Jean-Claude Pressac's New Auschwitz Book

A Brief Response to a Widely-Acclaimed Rebuttal of Holocaust Revisionism

Robert Faurisson

During the last several months, quite a lot of attention has been devoted to a new book on "The Crematoria of Auschwitz" by French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac. Published in late September by France's National Center for Scientific Research, it supposedly provides definitive proof that the "Holocaust deniers" are wrong. An Associated Press article that has appeared in a number of American newspapers, for example, tells readers that, according to "Holocaust experts," the new book "will provide irrefutable proof to combat those who claim the Holocaust ... didn't happen." Pressac himself says that his 210-page work provides "the definitive rebuttal of revisionist theories."

Such talk is a mark of progress. It confirms that a genuine debate about the supposed extermination gas chambers is underway. It further shows that the tempo of this debate is now being set by the revisionist skeptics, and that the defenders of the orthodox Holocaust story now feel obliged to respond to specific revisionist arguments. In the following essay, Dr. Faurisson provides a brief, preliminary critique of Pressac's new book, which itself is largely an effort to discredit the French revisionist scholar's meticulous research and findings. Much more about Pressac's book — by Faurisson and others — will appear in forthcoming issues of the Journal.

In 1989, French pharmacist Jean-Claude Pressac published in English a massive book deceptively entitled *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*. In my review of this book (published in the spring and summer 1991 issues of the *Journal*), I noted that it contains hundreds of details about the camp itself, the crematoria buildings, the ovens, the typhus epidemics, the disinfestation gas chambers (with Zyklon B or by other means), and even many details about the private life of the author.

Nothing About Execution Gas Chambers

But as I pointed out, there is nothing in this 564-page book about the alleged execution gas chambers, except what Pressac himself called, instead of "proofs," only "beginnings of proofs" or "criminal traces." The mountain had given birth to a mouse and, as a matter of fact, the mouse was Revisionist, because many of Pressac's statements were revisionist.

My Unanswered Challenge

Since 1978, I have repeated a challenge:

> Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber! Stop giving me words. Stop showing me a building, a door, a wall or, sometimes, only hair or shoes. I need a full picture of one of those fantastic chemical slaughterhouses. I need a physical representation of the extraordinary weapon of an unprecedented crime. If you dare to say that what tourists are shown in some camps is, or was, such a gas chamber, come on and say it ...

This challenge has never been answered. In Washington, DC, the "Holocaust" memorial museum shows visitors the door of something that Pressac himself describes in his 1989 book (pp. 555-557) as a non-homicidal disinfestation gas chamber in Majdanek. Pressac did not answer my challenge in 1989. Does he answer it in his new book, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: La machinerie du meurtre de masse* ("The Crematoria of Auschwitz: The Machinery of Mass Killing")? The answer is definitely No.

One (Phony) Proof

Pressac's new book is, in essence, nothing but a summary of his 1989 English-language work. Of the 60 documents he cites, none really pertain to execution gas chambers, except one that Pressac describes as a proof (not more than one) of the existence of one execution gas chamber in Auschwitz. In fact, it is a simple letter, a commercial letter, with no mention of secrecy, from the German firm of Topf and Sons to the Auschwitz construction office ("*Bauleitung*"). It is about hydrocyanic acid (HCN) gas detectors in one of the crematoria. The engineer who signed the letter says that they have tried in vain to get from five different firms the ten required gas detectors and that, if they ever do, they will tell the construction office. Pressac contends that HCN gas detectors are of no use in a crematory except, if, in this case, it was used as an execution gas chamber.

This is an inadmissible conclusion. Zyklon B (which is essentially HCN) is a commercial pest control agent that has been used since 1922 in countries around the world. In Auschwitz it was used extensively in the disinfestation of all infected premises, especially to combat typhus. In the mortuaries of the crematoria there were plenty of infected corpses. These places sometimes needed fumigation. In 1980, I published a German document (classified by Allied officials as Nuremberg document NI-9912) about the fumigation process with Zyklon B: The word for fumigation was *Vergasung* ("gassing"), and the word for gas detector was "*Gasrestnach-*

Robert Faurisson, Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar, is a frequent *Journal* contributor.

weisgerät." This was quite common. In Auschwitz poison gas was used to kill lice, not people.

800,000 Dead?

In a famous 1955 film, "Night and Fog" ("*Nuit et Brouillard*"), which is shown in every school in France (and many in the United States), the figure of the dead in Auschwitz is said to have been nine million. The Nuremberg Tribunal established that it had been four million (Doc. USSR-008). On the Auschwitz-Birkenau monument it was also four million but, in 1990, they chiseled out this figure. In his 1989 English-language book, Pressac wrote (p. 553) that it was between one million and a million and a half. Now, in 1993, in his new French-language book, he says 775,000 dead, rounded out to 800,000. (Among those, he maintains, 630,000 Jews were gassed.) The actual figure of Auschwitz deaths between 1939 and 1945 is probably closer to 150,000, mostly because of epidemics, starvation and overwork.

Lanzmann Incensed

Claude Lanzmann, maker of the Holocaust film "Shoah," is incensed at Pressac. He says that the entire contents of this new book are already "tremendously well known," except for the gas detector document that, he adds, certainly will not convince the revisionists. He says that revisionism is a catastrophe, in both the common sense of the word as well as in the philosophical sense, that is, a change of era. He thinks that Pressac is in fact a revisionist who uses the material and physical arguments of a Faurisson. (See *Le Nouvel Observateur*, Sept. 30.)

An Expert Report

Pressac is in fact a con artist. This I showed in my 1991 review, and this I will show in a review that is to appear in a forthcoming issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*. But the value of Pressac's book is that the believers in the "Holocaust," at least in France, finally acknowledge that this "Holocaust" must now be treated as a scholarly or scientific matter. We only have to take them at their word, and to say:

> "Okay! Let's begin at the beginning. We need an expert report about the weapon of the crime. If you think that Fred Leuchter is wrong in his forensic expert report — as well as Germar Rudolf, Walter Lüftl and the Institute of Forensic Research in Krakow (what about your silence on this?) — there is an obvious solution: produce your own expert report, or commission an international committee to do so. In this way you will answer our challenge: you will show us or draw us a Nazi gas chamber."

Could *You* Survive a Nuclear Attack?

Why I Survived The A-Bomb

By **Akira Kohchi** (Albert Kawachi)

Until now, the *real* story of the first nuclear holocaust had not been told. Previous books on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima approached it only obliquely: technical works hailed it as a marvel of nuclear science, and books written from the military perspective honored the men who gave and carried out a difficult order. Even the eyewitness accounts, numbering some two thousand—and almost all yet to be translated from the Japanese—are overwhelmingly stories of *personal* misery. The total picture—the background, scope, and consequences of the catastrophe—has, until now, never been presented.

Why I Survived the A-Bomb tells a unique and fascinating story as seen from inside Japan 48 years ago and today. The author is eminently qualified—he lived through the experience of a nuclear attack and walked through the flaming, radioactive city of Hiroshima!

Holocaust survivor and author Albert Kawachi

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What was it really like to survive the massive devastation, then deal with the suffering and humiliation wrought by this American doomsday weapon? Who was behind the use of the bomb in the first place? And what did it really accomplish? We need real answers to these hard questions before we speak glibly of defense and disarmament, and before we argue over trade imbalances and deficits, for what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki could be our tomorrow.

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Victory in a Grueling Ten-Year-Long Legal Battle

"Best Witness": Mel Mermelstein, Auschwitz and the IHR

Theodore J. O'Keefe

Fourteen years ago, over Labor Day weekend in 1979, the Institute for Historical Review held its very first conference at Northrop University in Los Angeles. At that time, the Institute announced its offer of a reward of $50,000 to the first person to prove that Jews were gassed at Auschwitz.

A little over a year later, in the spring of 1981, Mel Mermelstein, a southern California businessman and self-described Holocaust survivor, claimed that reward, and then sued the Institute for $17 million.

On October 9, 1981, in response to a motion by Mermelstein, Judge Thomas Johnson of the Superior Court of California in Los Angeles declared:

> Under Evidence Code Section 452(h), this court does take judicial notice of the fact that Jews were gassed to death at the Auschwitz Concentration Camp in Poland during the summer of 1944.... It is not reasonably subject to dispute, and it is capable of immediate and accurate determination by resort to sources of reasonably indisputable accuracy. It is simply a fact.

Because of the prejudicial effect of this action, the IHR decided not to proceed with the suit, and instead settled the matter by signing a formal letter of apology to Mermelstein on July 24, 1985, for the pain, anguish, and suffering he sustained relating to the $50,000 reward offer, and agreeing to pay him $90,000 to settle the case. (For details on the settlement, see the August 1985 *IHR Newsletter*.)

Encouraged by this success, Mermelstein later brought yet another suit for $11 million against the Institute charging malicious prosecution, defamation, conspiracy to inflict emotional distress, and intentional infliction of emotional distress. Yet on Thursday, September 19, 1991, in the Superior Court at Los Angeles, Mermelstein voluntarily dismissed most of his complaints. (Earlier that day, Judge Stephen Lachs had dismissed Mermelstein's complaint of "malicious prosecution.") This victory not only saved the Institute for Historical Review, but also substantially overturned the negative effects of the both the 1981 judicial notice and the 1985 settlement. (For more on this sweeping legal victory, see the October 1991 *IHR Newsletter*.)

The First Case

To appreciate the ramifications of this stunning reversal of fortunes, one must review the convoluted connection between Mermelstein and the IHR.

In the first ("reward") case — and despite absurdities in his reward claim obvious to any knowledgeable student of Auschwitz — Mermelstein was able to mount an aggressive attack against the IHR in the courts. He was well armed with first-rate legal assistance, much of it donated, not to mention overwhelming approval and support from the political establishment, the mass media, and southern California's influential Jewish community.

Meanwhile, the Institute had difficulty getting any legal counsel whatsoever, let alone the kind of skilled, dedicated, and fearless attorneys needed to withstand Mermelstein's publicity juggernaut and his blitz in the courtrooms. Recall the hurricane of libel and slander from the press, coming at a time when what Alfred Lilienthal has called Holocaustomania was at high tide in America. In an atmosphere of constant smears against the IHR and Revisionism, every survivor hallucination ("Nazi 'smiled' as dog ate Jew," to cite one headline of the day) gained instant currency in a corrupt media willing to accept such stories unquestionably and spread them as gospel.

Then recall the constant physical attacks that the enemies of truth and freedom aimed at IHR, its staff, and its supporters. In addition to harassment, including telephone threats, there was vandalism of IHR staff cars and homes, a physical beating of IHR founder Willis Carto, and attacks by gunfire and Molotov cocktail against the IHR office. Three separate firebombings culminated in the arson of July 4, 1984, which resulted in the total destruction of the IHR's office and warehouse. Let us also not forget the role of local Zionist thugs in carrying out much of this intimidation: I refer to the goonwork of that gang led by the revolting Irving Rubin, the so-called

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Theodore J. O'Keefe is an IHR editor. Educated at Harvard University, he has published numerous articles on historical and political subjects. This essay is slightly edited from his presentation at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992.

national chairman of the Jewish Defense League — but whom I prefer to regard as the Grand Wizard, or, better, the Grand Dullard, of the Kosher Ku Klux Klan.

Judicial Notice

And so, with the help of high-priced lawyers, a corrupt media, and Jewish terrorists, Mermelstein seemingly laid to rest the historical issue by obtaining Judge Johnson's ridiculous judicial notice. His lawyers went on to concoct a massive $17 million assault for breach of contract, conspiracy, intentional infliction of emotional distress, and so forth, until IHR had virtually no choice but to capitulate by settling out of court in preference to losing a potentially ruinous trial.

The frustrating thing for all informed and conscientious Revisionists was that the IHR's researchers were aware from the beginning, thanks to the very affidavit Mermelstein presented to claim the $50,000 reward, that when he described watching his mother and sisters enter "gas chamber no. 5" through a tunnel, he was speaking of an impossibility, an absurdity that became even more absurd six months later, when, in sworn testimony, he said he'd seen them going down the stairs into the tunnel to the gas chamber. Why? Because even then it was well known to all students of Auschwitz that "gas chamber no. 5" — in fact, Auschwitz Krematorium building V — had no stairs descending from the outside, no tunnel, and no basement. It was entirely above ground!

As the IHR's staff and supporters gathered more evidence, in the months and years of the first trial, they learned more. In Mermelstein's own book, *By Bread Alone*, which offers a detailed account of the single night and day he spent at Birkenau (May 21-22, 1944), and which was published only two years before his sworn affidavit in application for the reward, Mermelstein wrote *nothing* of witnessing his mother and sisters enter any building at all, let alone any gas chamber — whether down the stairs, up the ladder, through the window, or down the chimney.

During the course of the long discovery phase, that is, the period in which the opposing parties gather evidence to support their case, researchers for the IHR, led by Louis A. Rollins, were able to gather much more information about what Mermelstein had said (or hadn't said), and was still saying, about his experiences in wartime Europe.

Working from a mass of statements, either direct or reported, made by Mermelstein about his past life (paying particular attention to his time at Auschwitz and other camps), Rollins was able to compile a list of instances in which, it seemed to him, Mermelstein had either:

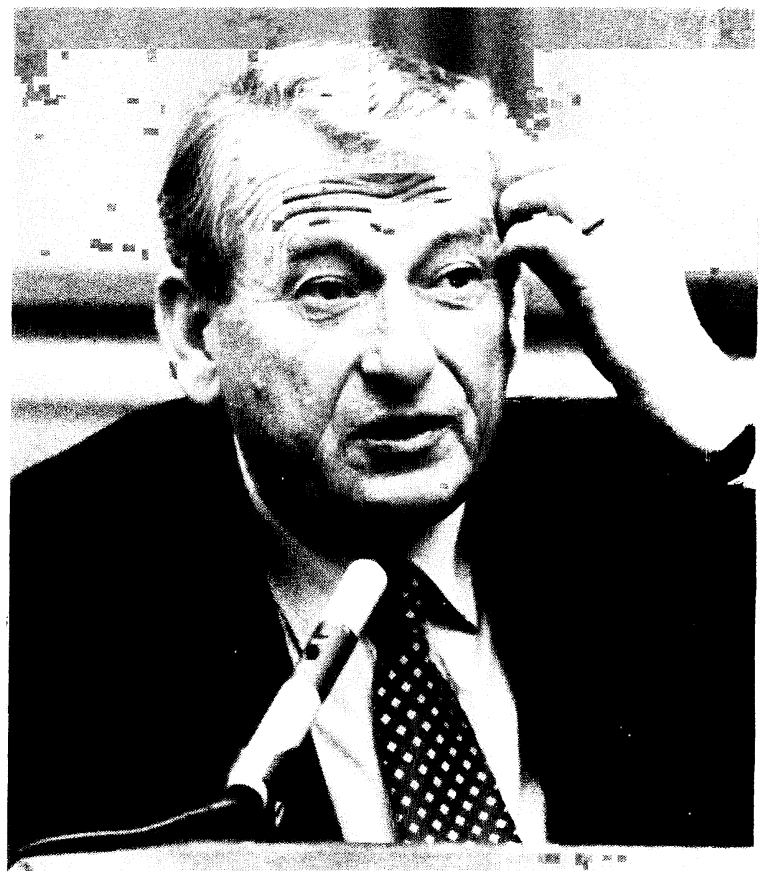
First, *contradicted himself* in his various statements on what he had seen or experienced during the Holocaust (for example, his several different accounts of how and where his father died), or;

Second, made *absurd* claims about what had happened to him and others during the Holocaust — for example, witnessing a non-existent tunnel leading to the imaginary cellar of Krematorium 5, or being ordered to wash with soap made from dead Jews.

Contradictions and absurdities — Lou Rollins compiled 33 of them on a list that ran to eleven pages. But because of the judicial notice, all of this research went to naught. How, then, did it prove important in the second case?

The IHR Fights Back

It happened like this: In 1984 an independent writer and journalist by the name of Bradley Smith approached the Institute seeking funding for a newsletter; Smith had decided to take on the thankless task of alerting America's journalists to the falsehood and fraud they were accepting and disseminating uncritically under the rubric of the Holocaust. Smith went on to publish some of the most flagrant instances of these claims in his newsletter *Prima Facie*, and not surprisingly, among the ripest contradictions and absurdities in the lore of the Holocaust were the testimony and statements of Mel Mermelstein, as researched by Lou Rollins and studied, with due diligence — remember that phrase, due diligence — by Bradley Smith.



Mel Mermelstein in the witness stand. (UPI/Bettmann photo)

Alas, Smith's trumpet calls in *Prima Facie* went unheeded by our nation's press corps. In July 1985

came the settlement and the triumph of Mermelstein, followed by his false gloating about how he had collected the reward, and his false claim, made during a radio broadcast from New York that August, that the IHR had signed the 1981 judicial notice, and thus accepted the "fact" of homicidal gassings of Jews at Auschwitz.

As had happened after the 1981 judicial notice, tributes and congratulations flowed in to the "survivor" from around the globe. How galling it was for Revisionists to see Mermelstein vaunt himself to the nation and the world as the man who proved the Holocaust, who had humbled IHR and the Revisionists!

Undaunted

In the wake of this bitter defeat, IHR had two tasks:

First, to explain the settlement to its subscribers and supporters around the world, to reassure them that IHR had accepted a compromise to avoid the expense and uncertainty of trial but — and in spite of what Mel Mermelstein and our other enemies were saying — had not abandoned its skepticism on the gas chambers, and had *not* accepted the judicial notice.

Second, to show the flag, to proclaim our defiance, to fight back.

In the September 1986 issue of the *IHR Newsletter* (then editor) Bradley Smith took direct aim, not at the so-called Holocaust, not at every one of its survivors, but at that minority he firmly believed, on the basis of a reasonably careful (or "duly diligent") study of the evidence, was actively engaged in spreading falsehoods about their experiences. Smith wrote of "the vainglorious prevaricators," "the false-tale spinners who claim to speak for the survivor community," and "such demonstrable frauds as Melvin Mermelstein and Elie Wiesel." Smith's good faith assertion that Mermelstein was a fraud was based on the previously mentioned list that Rollins had compiled for the first trial.

The sweet taste of victory had done nothing to mellow Mermelstein's disposition, and when he learned of Smith's short *IHR Newsletter* article, he sued for defamation.

The Second Case

After Mermelstein launched his second suit, the Institute, learning of his misrepresentation of the settlement of the reward case, filed a defamation suit of its own against Mermelstein in August 1986. The IHR never served this suit, and later voluntarily dismissed it. Thereupon Mermelstein sued the IHR for malicious prosecution, and with the help of his attorney, Jeffrey N. Mausner (formerly of the federal government's "Nazi-hunting" Office of Special Investigations), concocted an $11 million suit for four causes of action: libel, malicious prosecution, conspiracy to inflict emotional distress, and intentional infliction of emotional distress.

This suit was brought against four defendants: the Legion for the Survival of Freedom, the nonprofit corporation through which IHR functions; Liberty Lobby, the nationalist and populist institution based in Washington, DC; Willis Carto, founder of both IHR and the Liberty Lobby; and the southern California law firm of Robert Von Esch, Jr., which had defended Liberty Lobby in the reward case, and had filed the IHR's defamation suit against Mermelstein in 1986.

Pre-trial Shenanigans

The lead-up to trial was both protracted and eventful. After hearing of the defamation suit against him, Mermelstein demanded that the Hartford Insurance Company, where he had his homeowner's insurance, pay his legal costs. When Hartford refused, pointing out (reasonably enough) that Mermelstein had never been served, attorney Mausner represented the IHR's suit as a big threat to Mermelstein. Mausner was able to intimidate Hartford with his client's Holocaust-survivor status to the extent of securing $60 thousand for Mermelstein in a settlement, as well as obtaining very generous legal fees for himself. Apparently, Hartford was unaware that at this same time Mausner was maintaining in a California court that IHR's suit was entirely groundless and frivolous.

In February 1989, a process server seeking Willis Carto on behalf of Mermelstein mistook the IHR's former accountant, Robert Fenchel, for Carto at the Ninth Revisionist Conference at the Old World Shopping Center. That November, Judge John Zebrowski found that, in spite of the non-service, the IHR was delinquent in not notifying Mermelstein of his mistake: Zebrowski imposed sanctions of $3,000, which the Institute was obliged to pay before it could begin to defend itself.

This was followed by a number of unfavorable pretrial rulings: Mermelstein was allowed to add new legal theories to his libel suit, four years after it had been filed. The IHR was not allowed to make use of a California law which allows a newspaper to retract offending statements and thus avoid suit. The Institute's motion for summary judgment on whether the Institute had probable cause to sue Mermelstein for libel (and thus defeat his malicious prosecution complaint) was rejected. Finally, in January 1991 Mermelstein succeeded in obtaining a *second* judicial notice of gassing at Auschwitz.

Nevertheless, not everything went Mermelstein's way: two judges, both Jewish, who believed they might not be able to be impartial, did the decent thing and disqualified themselves.

The Best Defense

After nearly five years of pre-trial maneuvering and legal jousting, the trial at last loomed before us. The IHR was represented by William Hulsy of Irv-

ine. Liberty Lobby's attorney was Mark Lane, an experienced trial lawyer, a long-time fighter for civil rights, noted critic of the Warren Report, bestselling author, movie scriptwriter, and anti-Zionist Jew. Lane served as the defendants' lead attorney, dealing primarily with the conspiracy complaint. Hulsy was responsible for combating the defamation charges, and for formulating the overall trial strategy.

They were assisted by Charles Purdy of San Diego, who also represented Liberty Lobby, and by Willis Carto, who defended himself. Finally, the Von Esches (primarily Mark Von Esch, son of Robert, Jr.) defended their firm, and were to concentrate on dealing with the malicious prosecution complaint.

William Hulsy had been recommended to us by John Schmitz, the former US Congressman and very good friend of Revisionism and IHR. A successful attorney with experience in more than 200 jury trials, Hulsy finally agreed to take our case in spite of warnings from friends and colleagues, and his own apprehensions about possible damage to his career.

Hulsy firmly believed that the case could be fought and won on its legal merits, and that to make the main issue the Holocaust — as Mermelstein's attorneys were seeking to do — might very well result in an annihilating defeat. He decided to oppose the libel complaint by convincingly demonstrating to a jury, if possible, that everything Smith had written about Mermelstein was true. Failing that, he would show that Mermelstein was "a public figure," who had thrust himself to the forefront of participation in a public controversy in order to influence the resolution of the issues involved (his constitutional privilege, according to the ruling of the Supreme Court under Earl Warren, in the famous *New York Times* vs. Sullivan ruling of 1964). Hulsy would also seek to show that the question of Mermelstein's credibility as an eyewitness to the gassings and the Holocaust was a matter of public concern; that Brad Smith had exercised "due diligence," not reckless disregard for the truth, in his research for the offending article; that Brad's description of Mel was not based on personal malice; and that the IHR's *Newsletter* was not (as Mermelstein sought to argue) disseminated to the public at large, but was instead a periodical circulated to a limited readership that shared a specific interest in Revisionism. Establishing any or all of these things might suffice to defeat the libel complaint; failing that, to minimize damages.

Thanks to the evidence carefully compiled by Lou Rollins and others, we could show that what had appeared in the *IHR Newsletter* about Mermelstein was true. This alone should have been enough to defeat the libel complaint, but Hulsy believed that it might not be enough to convince a Los Angeles jury.

My Assignment

My first assignment was to demonstrate to Bill Hulsy that the IHR and revisionists were not "neo-Nazis" or cranky flat-earthers, but responsible researchers with a different viewpoint on modern history. After winning his confidence, he set me to work gathering, compiling and evaluating evidence to defend against Mermelstein's libel complaint, based on Hulsy's research and understanding of the law. Again and again, Hulsy stressed that he wanted evidence to win the trial, not to disprove the Holocaust. But I must confess that I cheated: I sought every bit of evidence I could lay my hands on about Mermelstein's actual experiences during the Second World War, and what he'd said about them over the years.

Aided by numerous volunteers who worked not only in California but across the United States, and in Germany, Poland, and Israel, we searched for whatever we could find about Mermelstein and his family. This included evidence about his mental soundness (Mermelstein had admitted to being under the care of a psychiatrist); information as to his litigation with persons other than the IHR; newspaper reports quoting Mermelstein on his Auschwitz experiences; and, of course, wartime documents from Auschwitz and elsewhere that would disprove his claims about witnessing atrocities, above all the alleged gassing of his mother and sisters at Auschwitz in May 1944.

My first step was to nail down the existing evidence, much of it from the first trial: Mermelstein's sworn statements in the form of transcribed depositions (of which there were eleven, running to some twelve hundred pages of close interrogation by IHR and Liberty Lobby lawyers), written responses to interrogatories, and the like; Mermelstein's writings, above all his autobiographical account of his concentration camp experiences, *By Bread Alone*; and his public statements on his Holocaust years, reported in more than a hundred different newspaper and magazine articles, and on several recordings of presentations by Mermelstein at synagogues or seminars as well as on radio broadcasts.

Further evidence came from history and reference books, such as Jewish encyclopedias; public documents and records, including statements made by Mermelstein to authorities at the Auschwitz State Museum and the German consulate in Los Angeles; wartime documents from the German camps; and Mermelstein's US Army medical records.

As this mass of paper and audiotape accumulated, I had to read and re-read, to analyze and evaluate, to extract and collate and tabulate the evidence that would serve our defense against Mermelstein's complaint that he was libeled by the IHR's description of him as "a vainglorious prevaricator," "a false-tale spinner," and "a demonstrable

fraud."

Contradictions and Absurdities

While Mermelstein was a rather difficult witness who had attempted (sometimes with success) to intimidate IHR attorneys during depositions by playing the Holocaust card, he was often boastful and extravagant, and provided many nuggets for analysis and comparison.

I began my compilation of contradictions and absurdities in Mermelstein's Holocaust claims with the list that Lou Rollins had put together. With much more evidence and a great deal more time than was available to Rollins, I compiled a new list, longer and more thorough than his original, but including many of the discrepancies and exaggerations that he had caught years earlier.

This listing had to be not only exhaustive, but reasonable and persuasive. Citing mere slips of the tongue, or mistakes attributable to sloppy journalists, would not only have been poor scholarship, it wouldn't have persuaded a jury.

Caught

In all, I discovered 30 absurdities, 22 contradictions, and a number of exaggerations. These examples went directly to the matter of Mermelstein as a "demonstrable fraud," a "vainglorious prevaricator," and a "false-tale spinner."

Among the absurdities were the nonexistent subterranean tunnel to the above-ground crematory, the soap made from Jewish bodies, a claim that Auschwitz camp "kapos" were rewarded for every prisoner they killed, and that there was a railroad track leading from the crematory to a pond for dumping ashes.

Contradictions

Since the summer of 1980, Mermelstein has repeatedly stated that he saw his mother and sisters go into a gas chamber, or into tunnel leading to it, from a distance of "a stone's throw away," a distance of "40, 50 feet," and that he watched the "gas chamber" building for "a couple of hours." Remarkably, though, Mermelstein made no mention of witnessing any of this in any account available prior to 1980, including his supposedly autobiographical book, *By Bread Alone*.

This is nothing compared to his varying versions of the fate that befell his father. In a declaration given in November 1969 at the German consulate in Los Angeles, Mermelstein said his father died during "evacuation marches to Blechhammer from other camps." According to the account given in *By Bread Alone*, though, Mermelstein's father died in bed after working himself to death, trading food for cigarettes. In a May 1981 deposition, his father had died of overwork and exhaustion, while in a June 1985 deposition, he died of "exhaustion, cruelty, starvation, and beatings." According to still other accounts given by Mel Mermelstein, his father was "gassed at Auschwitz."

Mermelstein has given similarly contradictory accounts of what he did while interned at Auschwitz (between approximately May 21 and July 1, 1944). In a statement given in November 1969 at the German consulate in Los Angeles, he had "no occupation." Similarly, in a May 1981 deposition, he declared that had done "practically nothing . . . just some detail work" and "no physical work."

In February 1987, a dramatically different account of Mermelstein's time in Auschwitz appeared. Ed Koch (who was then mayor of New York City) told of a meeting with Mermelstein during a tour of Auschwitz. Koch reported in a newspaper article that Mermelstein had told him: "I was part of the special detail which hauled the bodies from the gas chamber and took them to the crematoria."

Exaggerations

In claiming that Auschwitz camp kapos would kill an inmate if "they didn't like the shape of your nose," Mermelstein seemed to suggest that his own nose was not unattractive. Survival could be just as cruel as death, Mel implied on another occasion, because the bread given to Auschwitz inmates (during the period when he claimed to have done "practically nothing") was intended not for nourishment, but to kill inmates "as fast as they expected us to die." At Buchenwald, Mermelstein would have us believe, he went swimming "in blood," even though he and others had been transported to Buchenwald

Theodore J. O'Keefe

"only for one purpose" — to be disposed of in crematorium rather than "litter . . . the beautiful towns and cities with our bodies."

Fortunately, Mermelstein and many others like him miraculously survived. One of these friends, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli (who wrote his own book about his stay entitled, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account*), was a truly exceptional survivor. In a 1981 deposition, Mermelstein claimed that Dr. Nyiszli, whom he supposedly knew personally, would testify on Mermelstein's behalf about the alleged crimes of Dr. Josef Mengele at Auschwitz. At that time, though, Nyiszli had been dead for more than 25 years.

The evidence we were able to collect about Mermelstein's credibility not only persuaded our attorneys that this was a very unreliable witness, to say the least; it also, I believe, gave them additional confidence to challenge Mermelstein directly.

New Evidence

In addition to all the evidence cited above, we obtained yet another piece of potentially explosive evidence: a document that indicates that Mermelstein's sisters may have been alive nearly five months after he insisted they were killed. This secret German document, dated October 12, 1944, lists 500 Jewish females who were being transported from Auschwitz to Altenburg (a sub-camp of Buchenwald). Among those listed are Edith and Magda Mermelstein, names identical to those of Mermelstein's two sisters. This document is dated almost five months after the day in May 1994 when Mermelstein swears he saw them gassed. While the birth dates of Edith and Magda as typed on this document do not tally precisely with those given by Mermelstein for his two sisters in *By Bread Alone*, there is good reason to believe that the two women on the list were, in fact, his sisters.

Forewarned and Forearmed

From the volume of evidence we acquired, we learned two important things:

First, that Mermelstein is simply not a credible witness to gassings at Auschwitz, or to very much else involving concentration camps and the Holocaust. The contradictions, exaggerations, and absurdities lovingly noted and recorded by the IHR's researchers amply demonstrate this, not merely to Revisionists and others skeptical of "survivor" testimony, but any knowledgeable, intelligent, and fair-minded person. Whether Mermelstein is fibbing, to others or to himself; whether he has forgotten; or whether whatever he did experience has so deranged his mind as to render him incapable of rationally recounting the facts, his testimony proves nothing about the existence of Nazi gas chambers or a policy to exterminate Jews. If anything, careful analysis of his statements indicates the opposite: that there were no Auschwitz gas chambers or German *policy to exterminate* the Jews.

Second, there is no evidence that Mermelstein ever claimed to have witnessed the gassing of his mother and sisters until after he learned of the IHR's reward offer. He apparently first claimed to have personally seen them enter a so-called gas chamber in letters attacking the IHR that appeared in newspapers in southern California and Israel in the summer of 1980.

Neither his book, *By Bread Alone* (published in 1979), nor a statement made for the Auschwitz State Museum in 1967 about his wartime experiences in the camp, nor a sworn affidavit given at the German consulate in Los Angeles in 1969 about crimes he had witnessed during his time at Auschwitz, contains *a word about witnessing any gassing*.

Similarly, there is no mention whatsoever of Mermelstein having witnessed the entry of his mother and sisters into a gas chamber, or anything like that, in any of the several detailed press accounts about his industrious activity as a lecturer, exhibitor of artifacts, and museum proprietor published prior to the 1979 reward offer.

The Trial

After several postponements in the first half of 1991, the trial was upon us. It followed a new Mermelstein media propaganda blitz, the centerpiece of which was the made-for-television movie *Never Forget*. This lurid and false account of the "reward case" was broadcast nationwide over the Turner cable television network in April 1991 (or just before the original trial date).

To make things more interesting, shortly before trial the Von Esches, on whose shoulders virtually our entire defense of the malicious prosecution complaint rested, threw in the towel and capitulated. After already enduring years of vituperation as agents of a worldwide Nazi cabal, they gave in to fear that their law practice would be ruined.

The Von Esches settled with a payment to Mermelstein of $100,000, and a craven — I'm sorry to say — apology agreeing that, yes, Jews had been gassed at Auschwitz, and that millions more had perished in Auschwitz and other camps at the hands of the Germans.

Then we got a break. We learned that the trial judge, Stephen Lachs, was Jewish, a member of the liberal American Civil Liberties Union, and the first avowed homosexual to serve as a judge in California history. As it happened, Lachs turned out to be a conscientious and impartial judge, despite the sensitive nature of the case and the blatant attempts by Mermelstein's attorneys to appeal to his Jewish background.

The combination of Mark Lane's trial savvy and Bill Hulsy's careful strategy brought about, against all expectations (ours as well as theirs), an annihi-

lating victory for the forces of historical truth and freedom of inquiry. The 49 pretrial motions crafted by Hulsy to withstand and counter Mermelstein's case were like a mighty fortress protecting us and blocking the enemy's advance. Thus, even to get to a jury trial, Mermelstein's three lawyers — lead attorney Lawrence Heller, Peter Bersin, and Jeff Mausner — were forced to attack across legal mine fields, negotiate factual tank traps and concertina wire, dare procedural pill boxes and machine gun nests. The plaintiff's legal assault was contained at the outset, suffering heavy casualties during the close-in combat over the pre-trial motions. When Mermelstein's lawyers attempted a retreat it quickly turned into a rout. In the end, a downcast plaintiff and his (somewhat bedraggled) lawyers slunk from the courtroom, seemingly dazed by defeat.

Mermelstein Takes the Stand

This is not to say that Mel Mermelstein didn't have his day in court. He and his counsel had unwisely declined to stipulate that he was a "public figure," as we had tried to establish (mindful of the added protection against defamation suits by public figures provided by the Supreme Court in a landmark 1964 decision). He also contested our motion to sever the determination of that issue from the matters to be decided by the jury. (We had wanted Judge Lachs to rule on this.)

As a result, Mermelstein took the stand, allowing Mark Lane to examine him on the question of whether his activities qualified him as a public figure according to the standards of the court. Mermelstein attempted to argue that he was not a public figure, in spite of his admission on the stand that he is: a published author; the founder of the "Auschwitz Study Foundation"; the curator of a Holocaust museum (that was first a traveling Holocaust exhibition); the willing subject of scores of newspaper and magazine stories, radio and television interviews; an eager accumulator of plaudits and testimonials from state and local governments, and laurels from the likes of Israel's late Prime Minister Menachem Begin; and a lecturer who has spoken, over nearly two decades, at numerous colleges, high schools, synagogues, and so forth, across the United States.

Lane led him carefully through each of these damaging admissions. Evidently Mermelstein had believed that he could represent himself as someone who had been dragged *unwillingly* into the public arena by the IHR (even though most of his various public activities started before he'd ever heard of the Institute).

After establishing Mermelstein as an author, curator, founder of a non-profit educational organization, political honoree, and media star over the airwaves and in print, Lane zeroed on Mermelstein's activities as a lecturer. About how many lectures had he given on Auschwitz prior to 1985, Lane wanted to know. Here Mermelstein, uncommonly forthcoming so far, began to prevaricate. Despite ample testimony out of his own mouth and pen as to his numerous lectures over the years, testimony of which the defendants were very well aware, Mermelstein claimed that he had given only about as many talks as "the fingers on my hands."

Thereupon Lane flourished a typed list, signed by Mermelstein, of more than 30 lectures given by him in a period of just 18 months in 1981-1982. Mermelstein tried to be crafty: he allowed that he might have lectured more than once at the same place — not the most effective answer, but one that later might defuse the issue for an inattentive jury.

At this point I recalled that in one of his depositions Mermelstein had estimated giving an average of 20 lectures a year on Auschwitz since 1967. I quickly found the statement in a deposition given in 1985. After a break for lunch, Mark Lane confronted Mermelstein with his own words, and then, using a pencil and pad to multiply 18 by 20 (a calculation equalling 360), Lane asked Mermelstein if he hadn't just told the court that he had only given as many lectures as there are fingers on his hands. A vexed Mermelstein then blurted out, "I meant the fingers of my hands and *feet*!"

At that point, Judge Lachs was seen to roll his eyes heavenward. A few minutes later, Bersin rose to concede his client's status as a public figure.

Judge Lachs Rules

Several days later, after carefully considering the text of Mermelstein's characterization of the IHR's 1985 settlement (which the plaintiff had made on a New York City radio broadcast shortly after that settlement), Judge Lachs declared that Mermelstein's claim that IHR had "signed" the 1981 judicial notice of gassing at Auschwitz could indeed be interpreted by a reasonable man as defamatory. This meant, he ruled, that IHR had had probable cause to sue Mermelstein in 1986, and that thus he had no alternative but to grant the IHR's motion for dismissal of Mermelstein's malicious prosecution complaint.

Soon afterwards, Mermelstein dismissed his libel and conspiracy complaints, and he and his attorneys trundled wearily out of the courtroom, haggling over who would pay for the transcript, a requirement in any appeal.

As reported elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*, Mermelstein's appeal of Judge Lachs's dismissal of his malicious prosecution complaint was unanimously rejected by the California Court of Appeal on October 28, which should serve to end the second Mermelstein suit and, perhaps, the long and costly Mermelstein affair.

Best Isn't Good Enough

At one point in a deposition, Mel Mermelstein

referred himself as his own "best witness." In spite of his evident failings as a credible eyewitness to the gas chambers and the Holocaust, I agree with this self-description. In a very real sense, Mermelstein is indeed the best witness to the gas chambers. He twice succeeded in getting judges in the state of California, a trendsetter in legal fashion as in so much else, to pronounce the Auschwitz gassings as indisputable fact.

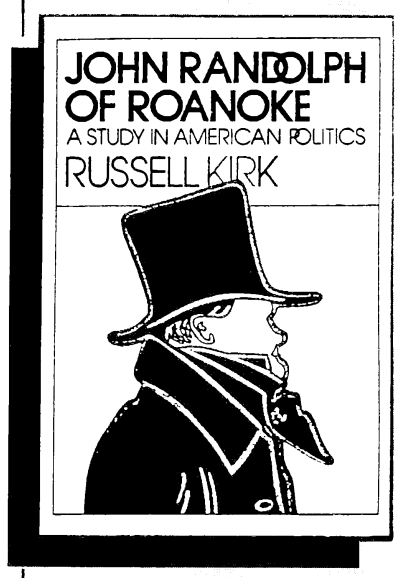
While sharing with the Elie Wiesels, the Rudolf Vrbas and the Filip Müllers the same knack for wild exaggerations, bizarre contradictions, and flat absurdities, Mermelstein is unlike them in having submitted his claims to careful scrutiny and relentless cross-examination. And so, while Mel Mermelstein is admittedly so far the best witness to the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, the best clearly isn't good enough.

If it were to end right here, this report on the great victory by the IHR and its co-defendants would be incomplete. This account — delivered before this Institute's loyal supporters and contributors, and some of the many researchers who gathered evidence across America and around the world — must appropriately conclude with an expression of our heartfelt thanks to them, and to all our subscribers and supporters. By contributing their time, their expertise, their money and their prayers, they have made this victory possible. With your loyal support, we pledge to carry on the fight for truth and freedom, for the honor of those who can no longer speak, for the enlightenment of those yet unborn, until the final victory.

More radical than Jefferson

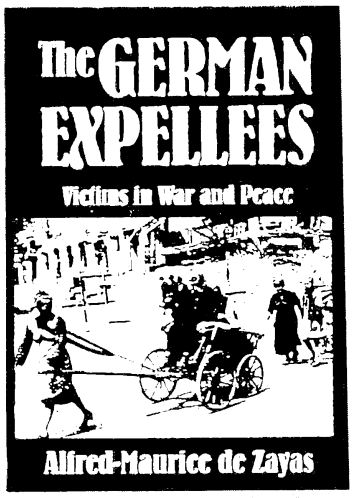
Who Was John Randolph?

Here's an authoritative biographical treatment of a great American political maverick in the almost vanished tradition of rugged individualism. Described by Thomas Jefferson as "unrivaled as leader of the House," Randolph's influence was so great that Henry Clay once said "his acts came near shaking the Union to the centre, and desolating this fair land." In the view of historian Samuel Flagg Bemis, Randolph was an "extraordinary man, perhaps the most spectacular personality that ever sat in the Congress of the United States." "For a stimulating introduction to intellectual history," commented the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "for acquaintance with a mental giant who rebelled against the trends of his times, **John Randolph of Roanoke** will move its reader pleasantly through a chapter of American history that too commonly is told only from the dominant, Jeffersonian, side of the record."



Softcover. 588 pp. Index. $5.95, plus $2.00 for shipping from Institute for Historical Review.

The Century's Greatest Wave of Ethnic Cleansing



At the end of World War Two some 15 million ethnic Germans in Central and Eastern Europe, caught between the Soviet armies to the east and the Anglo-American forces to the west, were driven from their ancestral homelands and in many cases slaughtered by Red Army troops and Polish civilians bent on revenge. It was a holocaust that claimed more than two million lives, the overwhelming majority of them civilians. Alfred de Zayas (**Nemesis at Potsdam**), a lawyer, historian and human rights expert specializing in refugees and minorities, brings to light testimony in German and American archives detailing these atrocities as he sketches the history of the many German communities scattered from the Baltic to the Danube. This carefully documented study adds a new, grim chapter to the annals of human cruelty.

The German Expellees
by Alfred de Zayas
Hardbound, 177pp., 24 Photos, Notes, Index, Bibliography, $35 + $2 postage from Institute for Historical Review

IN COLD BLOOD . . .

GRUESOME HARVEST: The Allies' Postwar War Against the German People, by Ralph F. Keeling, tells the grim, suppressed story of how the victorious Allies—after the end of the Second World War—carried on a brutal campaign against defeated Germany's civilian population. Completely reset attractive new IHR edition of a moving classic, with a new publisher's introduction by Ted O'Keefe. Bristling with contemporary documentation, burning with humanitarian and patriotic outrage, this informed, riveting classic dares to tell the shameful story of how American and other Allied policymakers undertook the political, economic and social destruction of the German people even as they presumed to instruct them in "justice" and "democracy." Softcover. 151 pp., $9.00 + $2 shipping.

Shaping American Thinking Through the Silver Screen

Screening History, by Gore Vidal. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1992. Hardcover. 97 pages. Photographs. ISBN 0-674-79586-5.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

Few contemporary American writers pretending to serious literature have boasted as wide a range of concerns, poses, feuds and accomplishments as Gore Vidal. He's run the gamut from littérateur (novelist, playwright, essayist, screenwriter) to unsuccessful politician (Democratic candidate for Congress in New York, 1960, and Democratic candidate for senator in California, 1982), to television talk-show oracle (from his days as a fighting liberal on Jack Paar's "Tonight" show to his contemporary command performances, seemingly uncurtailed even by his much criticized public antipathy toward Israel).

Sometimes the stern classicist and defender of America's Old Republican polity, Vidal has been, just as often, the salacious gossip and subject of gossip, which only begins with Vidal's frank and long-standing affirmation of his own homosexuality.

Vidal has been slugged by Norman Mailer, traduced by Truman Capote, called a "goddamn queer" on television by William F. Buckley, Jr., excluded from Jack Kennedy's White House, and grappled with the politruks of American's English and Comparative Literature departments for thumbing his nose at what he calls in *Screening America* their "hacking away at the olive trees of Academe while seeding the Cephisus River with significant algae" (p. 4).

Vidal can offend and enlighten, often doing both at once. This slender book, which contains the William E. Massey Lectures in the History of American Civilization, is no exception. Catty stabs at antagonists and rivals, cutting vignettes of cherished personages (from Franklin Roosevelt to Frank Capra), snide slaps at cherished institutions (Vidal lets his long-standing war with Christianity seep into these pages) combine with sharp insights into American history, particularly as to how America's West Coast (Hollywood) establishment successfully supported the East Coast establishment's dragooning of a fundamentally anti-interventionist populace into the Second World, and subsequent, wars deleterious to the Republic.

The focal point of *Screening America* is the role of moving images (chiefly filmed, although Vidal hardly slights the influence of television "news" casting) on the popular perception of politics and history in America. Vidal, an author of numerous best-sellers, dismisses the import of literature in today's "Agora."

("Today the public seldom mentions a book, though people will often chatter about the screened versions of unread novels." [p. 3] Vidal would surely nod

A scene from the 1937 Hollywood production, "Fire Over England," starring Laurence Olivier and Vivian Leigh, with Flora Robson as Queen Elizabeth the First. Gore Vidal comments: "Will the young Olivier and Leigh be able to put out the flames for the sake of free men everywhere? Yes! They could and they did. The world was saved from the Spanish dictator Philip II, as it would be saved by Nelson from the French dictator Napoleon in the next century, as it would be saved by Churchill from the German Hitler in the twentieth century." In Vidal's view, such "British propaganda movies of the 1930s were making us all weirdly English."

approvingly at these lines of Goethe: "One can talk nonsense, write it too. It will die in his life and soul, everything will stay the same. Idiocy, however, placed before the eye, has a magic right: since it binds the senses, the spirit remains enslaved.")

Chapter One, "The Prince and the Pauper," defers direct comment on history and politics to interweave premise with plot, which largely concerns Vidal's precocious artistic maturation in an extraordinary, moveable household headed by his mother, Nina Gore Vidal Auchincloss Olds, and the succession of fathers, natural and step, designated by that lady's imposing train of married surnames. (For her risqué evaluation of her three mates, according to the author, see page 11.) Vidal's telling of the initial effects of such movies as "A Midsummer Night's Dream," "The Mummy," and "The Prince and the Pauper" on his personal consciousness and aesthetic vision may be of little interest to most readers. Intriguing, though, is his account of his extended family and "tribe," with its ramifications even into the Kennedy White House (through the Auchincloss connection to Jackie), the Carter White House (the author claims to be Jimmy's fifth-cousin), and even unto Bill Clinton's administration (Al Gore is a distant cousin).

Brought up in Washington, Vidal drank deep in the history and symbolism of the "American Republic." (He is one of the few writers honored in the New York-Hollywood agora who can write that last phrase unselfconsciously.) He had various preceptors. Perhaps more than his father, Eugene, who founded three airlines and served as Director of Air Commerce in FDR's first term, the man who placed his stamp on the young Vidal was his grandfather, Senator Thomas Gore of Oklahoma, who despised the pro-war policies of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. As a boy, Gore Vidal spent many hours reading to the blind senator, and clearly imbibed much sense from the old man's aristocratic-populist American republican notions.

Of the first of his grandfather's two great enemies, Vidal writes (p. 34):

> It had been hard enough for Wilson to maneuver us into the First World War, as my grandfather believed that he had meant to do as early as 1916. We got nothing much of that war except an all-out assault on the Bill of Rights in 1919 and, of course, the prohibition of alcohol. The world was not even made safe for democracy, a form of government quite alien to the residents of our alabaster cities, much less to those occupants of our fruited plains.

Of the second great enemy of his grandfather (as of all decent men), Vidal recalls (p. 72) his learning of Franklin Roosevelt's death:

> I was delighted, of course. He had got us into the war; he had established a dictatorship; he had defeated my grandfather in the election of 1936. He was also the only president that I could remember, and I was bored to death with him.

Vidal devotes an entire chapter to British-made and -inspired films that, produced in the late 1930s, skillfully promoted British propaganda aims, above all the notion of a special American kinship with and duty to the "mother country" ("a phrase calculated to put on edge," the author writes, "my grandfather's Anglo-Irish false teeth"). Whether produced in America or England, such films as "Henry VIII," "Fire over England," and "That Hamilton Woman" revived the myth of the small, plucky island nation, gallantly striving for its own liberties and those of other countries against dictatorial oppressors. To the young Vidal, and to many other impressionable Americans of the time (p. 39),

On our screens, in the thirties, it seemed as if the only country on earth was England, and there were no great personages who were not English, or impersonated by English actors. I recall no popular films about Washington or Jefferson or Lincoln the president.

On the influence in those years of the large English colony in Hollywood, Vidal writes (p. 33):

> For those who find disagreeable today's Zionist propaganda, I can only say that gallant little Israel of today must have learned a great deal from the gallant little Englanders of the 1930s. The English kept up a propaganda barrage that was to permeate our entire culture, with all sorts of unexpected results. Since the movies were by now the principal means of getting swiftly to the masses, Hollywood was subtly and not so subtly influenced by British propagandists.

This propaganda offensive buttressed the interventionist forces and battered America's peace party, both then and now, as follows (p. 33):

> In the thirties — as in the teens — the country was divided over whether or not the United States should join England and France against Germany. But the division was not exactly right down the middle. I have not consulted any ancient poll, but it is my impression that something like two thirds of our people wanted to stay out of the European war. The so-called liberals — as they are always so-called — included Franklin Roosevelt. The so-called conservatives, like Senator Gore, were against war in general and any war to help the British Empire in particular. Today, when the

> meanings of so many words have been reversed, the conservatives speak fiercely against the, so-called by them, isolationists on the left, while the left (also known as Paleolithic conservatives) speak of minding our own business and restoring a wrecked polity, thanks to forty years of profitless — for the people at large — imperialism.

(Vidal's strictures on the British cinema offensive should be read in conjunction with Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black's *Hollywood Goes to War*, which details the operations of FDR's wartime Office of War Information, including its recognition of widespread "Anglophobia" among the reactionary American masses, and the attempts by decidedly un-Anglo-Saxon functionaries working in the OWI's Bureau of Motion Pictures to combat English films as aristocratic propaganda that supposedly endangered Allied unity. (The view that such films scanted the sweating serfs of Uncle Joe's "worker's paradise," as well as the Joes and Rosies of FDR's "war effort," revealed a profound misunderstanding of the force of snob appeal to, above all, the wretchedest of the earth.)

In the third and concluding chapter of these lectures, Vidal turns to American history as enacted in Hollywood, above all in of movies about Abe Lincoln (notably John Ford's "The Young Mr. Lincoln," which starred Henry Fonda). The author finds these productions wanting, both for cementing the treacly myth of the "democratic," plastic saint, and for neglecting the all-important war years. Vidal himself has dealt with the Great Emancipator's war years in his historical novel, *Lincoln*, which offended professional keepers of the Lincoln flame by its depiction of a hard-headed, calculating Abe for whom freeing the slaves was just another move in the brutal chess game by which he ultimately saved the Union.

American nationalist that he is, Vidal despises the sanctimonious myth, although he accepts Mr. Lincoln's war, not even pausing to muse on the fearful toll in the best American blood it exacted. And this in spite of the fact that he gave the lectures that comprise this book at Harvard's Memorial Hall, a giant cenotaph to the university's Civil War dead, the names of hundreds and hundreds of whom line its walls. (The names of the Harvard fallen in Southeast Asia could easily be writ large on the roof of a rabbit hutch, although the university seems to have profited enormously from the Vietnam-era prosperity.) Hollywood's failure to present that the Civil War as rivetingly as, say, "Exodus," Vidal regards as a signal national loss, one arguably not unrelated to the lack of regard of America's present cultural elite for any US history before the New Deal, a disdain expressed most eloquently by Norman Podhoretz, who once horrified Vidal by sniffing to him, "Well, to me, the Civil war is as remote and as irrelevant as the War of the Roses."

At the close of *Screening America*, conscious of the inefficacy of almost everything that passes for "education" in the United States today, Vidal advocates a television- and movie-based curriculum that would inculcate pupils with world history. Not entirely irreligious, he urges "screening not only Lincoln but Confucius and the Buddha." (He'd better not let his friends in the Civil Liberties Union hear that one — or perhaps it's just Christianity that has to stay banned from our schools.)

For all the present impracticality of Vidal's schemes (Jefferson and Washington and Robert E. Lee and Patrick Henry and Stephen Decatur would be "screened" today by Hollywood either as hate-crazed, slavocratic, racist, sexist bigots or as deeply closeted homosexuals), his suggestion clearly has merit.

As to what sort of republic may remain to be enjoyed by a species of television watchers, Vidal considers this question realistically, and with his customary saturnine joviality. Musing over the various nations currently resident in what he calls "the lost republic and the eroding Bill of Rights," he entertains the solution of devolution, perhaps on the Swiss model, with separate enclaves for the Latino and Asian populations. (In such a set-up, one is allowed to think, there may even be a place for the European-derived American nation that founded, sustained and lost the first [or is it the second?] republic.)

One needn't accept Gore Vidal as the rebirth of Cicero to read, profit from, and snicker at his amusing stories (why Robert Lincoln, Abe's son, stopped seeing Senator Gore; why Eleanor looked so stern at FDR's funeral; how Frank Capra wanted Vidal's "Best Man" to be screened), his mordant insights into historiography, moviemaking, and how the two have been woven into a double propaganda whammy that has injected a far speedier and more potent fix of false history into the brains of more of our fellow citizens than any number of textbooks or dime-store novels. (What is it people say when we tell them we don't believe the Holocaust?: "What about the films?")

Even at $14.95 for 97 pages, *Screening History* is well worth buying. Apprentice Latinists will have fun correcting "in hoc signes" and "annum mirabilis" (pp. 37, 44) — doubtless let stand by the Harvard University Press entirely for that purpose — while nearly every reader will wince at "Cleo" for "Clio" (p. 78). Such imperfections aside, and its author's occasional Old-Left fetishism and (veiled) evocations of the joys of Sotadic sex disregarded, Vidal's essays are a valuable contribution to the common weal, particularly in this Augustulan Age of American letters. As the old adage has it, we may choose our friends and our enemies, but we can't choose our allies.

Anyway, who wouldn't wel-

come an ally who writes (p. 91) of the latest ex-president, and a couple of earlier icons:

> For George it is always 1939, the year of "The Wizard of Oz," "Gone with the Wind," and "Young Mr. Lincoln." It is the year that Hitler invaded Poland; that Japan was conquering China. It is the year when that magnificent windbag, Churchill, was speaking up for war, and that truly amoral and cynical politician, Roosevelt, was trying simultaneously to get us into the war while carefully staying out of the war. This sort of statesmanship deeply puzzles school teachers in Gettysburg, where one is either great and good and always right, or not.

Seasoned British Journalist Names Names in Account of Massacre of Russia's Imperial Family

The Last Days of the Romanovs, by Robert Wilton. Introduction by Mark Weber. Institute for Historical Review, 1993. Softcover. 194 (+ xvii) pages. Photographs. Map. Index. ISBN 0-939484-47-1. (Available from the IHR for $12.95, plus $2 shipping.)

Reviewed by Mary Ball Martinez

This tragic historical record was to become a treasure almost as soon as it was published in 1920. Even then, a few voices were already sounding the alert about the threat of Bolshevism, which had just recently taken power in Russia. This book was one of the first writings that attempted to tell the true story of how the Bolsheviks had come to power, and just who was behind the phenomenon.

Robert Wilton, *The Times* of London's man-in-Moscow from 1902 through 1919, in chronicling the cold-blooded murder in Ekaterinberg, Siberia, of the last Tsar, his wife, four daughters, son, physician, three servants and little pet dog, was fully aware of the true facts and faced them in a text he managed to get published in England and the United States. However, only a French edition carried appendices in which the author, citing Soviet sources, alleged the Jewish origin of 17 among 22 members of the Council of People's Commissars (furnishing their real, non-slavic names), of 23 among the 36-member Cheka (secret police), and 41 among the 62-member Central Executive Committee.

Wilton was not the only informed person to make such statements. Winston Churchill, then Britain's secretary of state for war and air, was likewise warning that the new regime in Moscow was largely the creation of "international and for the most part atheistical Jews." More than one western ambassador in Russia echoed similar concerns in reports to officials back home.

Wilton's insistence that the assassination order to murder Russia's imperial family was telegraphed to the Jewish tough, Yakov Yurovsky, by Yankel Sverdlov (né Solomon) — the "Red Tsar" who then wielded at least as much power as Lenin — helps to explain why *The Last Days of the Romanovs* was soon hounded off the shelves of bookstores and libraries. Now, 73 years afterward, the IHR is to be thanked for presenting us with a handsome new edition complete with a set of rare photographs and the elusive appendices.

Few foreigners were as close to the scene during the tumultuous early twentieth century years of Russian history as Robert Wilton. His long assignment took him through the country's shock-defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, through all the ups and downs of internal Russian politics, the violent *Potemkin* and Bloody Sunday events of 1905, and the ominous rumblings, from exile and in the underground, of Trotsky and Lenin. As a leading journalist Wilton had already been chronicling the oncoming collapse of Imperial Russia for some years, and was thus eminently well prepared to follow objectively the country's hopeless role in the "Great War" of 1914-1918, the abdication of Nicholas II, his arrest and transfer to Siberia just as anti-Marxist "white" forces had begun to gather in significant strength, opening the tortured nation to civil war.

It was an ephemeral local victory by "white" forces that provided Wilton the bulk of material for his book. Pushing into Ekaterinberg just four days after the slaughter of the Romanovs was an old acquaintance, Ural-region army commander General Diterichs, who promptly opened a commission of judicial inquiry, bringing Wilton into each step of the process during the year the Whites held out there.

Because the protagonists of the crime had already fled to the Soviet zone and because, as Wilton says, "there had probably not been another instance in the whole history of crime of precautions to escape detection half as elaborate as in the Romanov case," much of the work done during the first months was wasted, and even in the end no real justice was achieved. However, the brilliant investigator, Nicolai Sokolov,

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had acquired telegrams proving the order to kill had come from Moscow, and Wilton had enough for his book. In addition, simple local folk — peasant farmers, villagers, sentries and servants — provided Sokolov and Wilton with a long stream of testimony that gives this book an unusual flavor of intimacy regarding the royal family. During the first months before the Bolsheviks solidified their takeover and the screws were steadily tightened on the family imprisoned in the villa in Ekaterinberg, we see the former ruler of All the Russias at a carpenter's bench fashioning a platform to make sitting in the garden more comfortable, his wife helping the children with religion and German lessons, the girls inventing theatricals in French and English, and the sick son, 14, studying history to prepare himself for ruling an empire.

As vigilance was stepped up, and most of the servants were dismissed and rations severely reduced, we admire the quiet courage of the victims. Coming to the last scene we see the family, their faithful physician, Dr. Botkin, and three servants, all roused from bed at midnight, gathered in the half-cellar-room, utterly silent, waiting for death. Yurovsky has announced it. Nestled quietly in the arms of Anastasia, the youngest daughter, is the tiny spaniel, Jemmy.

Despite his sensitivity, the author eschews sentimentality, something to be grateful for in light of the exaggerations that overtook the Romanov story as years passed. The wonderful ogling of Lionel Barrymore as Rasputin would have gone down poorly with Wilton, who describes the "mad monk" as a fairly pragmatic character, a willing tool in the hands of the Empress. Concludes Wilton: "Rasputin the monster is a fiction, bred in the busy brains of politicians and elaborated by the teeming imagination of sensational novelists. Rasputin the saint is the imaginary product of a woman's diseased mind."

As a Britisher who had just come through four years of First World War propaganda in an Allied country, Wilton is surprisingly mild in his Germany-bashing. This may be due to the fact that General Ludendorff's sobering war memoir came out in 1919, the year Wilton was writing this book. Noting correctly that Berlin's decision to ship Lenin from Switzerland to Petersburg (Petrograd) in a sealed train was of enormous help to the Red cause, he adds the little-known fact that the deal also included transporting more than a hundred Jews from the United States to Russia.

The last Empress of Russia was a Princess of Hesse, that ancient German house linking half the old nobility of Europe and some of the present-day "royals" as well (Queen Sofia of Spain, for instance). One prominent Hesse descendent is reported lately to have made a move which ties in with the Ekaterinberg story. Prince Philip (Battenberg turned Montbatten), husband of Queen Elizabeth (Saxe-Coburg-Gotha-turned-Windsor) eager to carry the Sokolov inquiry to a modern conclusion, arranged for specialists to see if DNA probes on the scarred remains of the Tsaritsa match tests on living members of the Hesse clan. They do. The murdered Empress was the sister of Victoria, wife of Ludwig von Battenberg (turned Marquess of Milford-Haven), and the grandmother of Prince Philip.

Prof. Nolte's Controversial New Book

A Prominent German Historian Tackles Taboos of Third Reich History

Streitpunkte: Heutige und künftige Kontroversen um den Nationalsozialismus ("Points of Contention: Current and Future Controversies about National Socialism"), by Ernst Nolte. Berlin and Frankfurt: Propyläen, 1993. Hardcover. 492 pages. Notes. Index. ISBN: 3-549-05234-0.

Reviewed by Mark Weber

Almost half a century after its dramatic demise, the Third Reich continues to fascinate millions and provoke heated discussion. Historians, sociologists, journalists and educated lay persons debate such questions as: How was German National Socialist regime possible? How deep was popular support for Hitler and his government? Was the National Socialist regime "reactionary" or "modern," or some combination of each? Did the Third Reich represent aberration or continuity in German history? What is the origin and precise nature of the wartime "final solution of the Jewish question"?

Few persons are as qualified to tackle such questions as Dr. Ernst Nolte, emeritus professor of history at Berlin's renowned Free University. Best known for his acclaimed study of the phenomenon of fascism — published in English as *Three Faces of Fascism* — Nolte is the author of numerous books and scholarly articles. (Three books by him have been published since 1990 alone.) No stranger to controversy, it was Prof. Nolte who touched off the furious intellectual debate during the late 1980s about the legacy of Hitler and German National Socialism known as the "historians' dispute" or *Historikerstreit*.

Nolte continues the discussion in this, his latest and most controversial book, a work packed with arresting observations and insights, and written in a readable narrative style meant for both the specialist and the educated lay reader. This attractively produced book is issued by one of Germany's most prominent and respected publishers.

"Radical Revisionism"

What is most strikingly new in this book is Nolte's informed and open-minded treatment of the work of what he calls the "radical revisionists." With candor that is very rare among prominent scholars, Nolte confesses (pp. 7-9) in the foreword:

> ... I must acknowledge that, without more closely examining them, I accepted as true the factuality of events, including the figure of six million [Jewish] victims and the primary importance of the gas chambers as an instrument of extermination, as claimed by the perpetrators and victims in the large-scale trials of the 1960s, and which were not questioned by the defendants' attorneys.
>
> Only much later, in the late 1970s, did I become aware of the doubts and counter-claims of a new school, that of the "revisionists." During this same period, the research of historians of contemporary history of the stature of Martin Broszat (who founded the so-called "functionalist" school), called into question the assumption that the extermination events were the result of an intention of Hitler, and thus of an ideolog.
>
> At the same time, the more radical thesis, most effectively expressed by Frenchmen such as Paul Rassinier and Robert Faurisson, that there never was a "final solution" in the sense of an ideologically based mass extermination, and that the deaths of hundreds of thousands in camps and ghettos, or as a result of shootings by the *Einsatzgruppen* [security police forces], must be viewed in the context of the demands and circumstances of the time and certain excessive desires on the part of the military leadership. This thesis can no longer be rejected as merely nonsensical or wicked.
>
> ... I soon came to the conviction that this [revisionist] school was being opposed in the establishment literature in an unscholarly way, that is, by simple rejection, by imputing the outlook of the authors, and, above all, by treating it with silence.
>
> But even a quick look is enough to show that the outlook of the left-wing Socialist and former member of the French National Assembly, Paul Rassinier, although anti-Zionist, is also humane. And no one can accuse Robert Faurisson or Carlo Mattogno of a lack of specialized knowledge.

In the chapter entitled "The 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question' in the View of the Radical Revisionists," Nolte deals at length with the writings of prominent Holocaust revisionists, including Rassinier, Faurisson, Carlo Mattogno and Arthur Butz. Nolte also reports — unpolemically and with some respect — on the work of the Institute for Historical Review and this *Journal*.

Defending the validity of the work of these scholars (p. 308), he writes:

> The widely held opinion that any doubts about the dominant view regarding the "Holocaust" and the Six Million must be treated, from the outset, as the expression of a wicked and inhumane outlook, and, if possible, banned ... is absolutely unacceptable, and indeed must be rejected as an attack against the principle of scholarly freedom.
>
> ... The questions [raised by revisionists] about the reliability of witnesses, the value of documents as evidence, the technical feasibility of certain operations, the credibility of statistical estimates, and the importance of circumstances are not only permissible, but, on scholarly grounds, are unavoidable. Moreover, every attempt to suppress [revisionist] arguments and evidence by ignoring or prohibiting them must be regarded as illegitimate.

Notwithstanding his serious and respectful attitude toward revisionist scholarship, and his rejection of a number of once widely accepted Holocaust claims, it would be a mistake to count Nolte as a "Holocaust revisionist."

He accepts, for example, that between five and six million Jews perished as victims of German wartime policy, and that hundreds of thousands of Jews were gassed at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Treblinka and other camps. (pp. 289-290)

Characteristic is his view of the well-known "confession" of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. While acknowledging that this key piece of Holocaust evidence was extracted by torture, and that key portions are "exaggerated," Nolte nevertheless accepts it as "qualitatively" valid. (pp. 293-294, 310)

Similarly, Nolte is skeptical of at least some portions of the widely quoted "testimony" of "gas chamber" witness Filip Müller, and he regards Elie Wiesel's "eyewitness report" (in his well-known book *Night*) as "not very credible." (pp. 311, 476) Still, Nolte contends, there must be a core of truth to the "gassing" story because it has been confirmed — in its essence, if not in its details — by several "witnesses."

Nolte accurately summarizes the findings of American engineer Fred Leuchter, who examined the supposed "gas chambers" of Auschwitz in 1988 — and concluded that they were never used to kill people as alleged. More recently, Nolte has commented favorably on the detailed report of German chemist Germar Rudolf, who likewise carried out a forensic examination of the purported

Auschwitz "gas chambers." (Rudolf re-affirmed the essential conclusions reached by Leuchter. See the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, pp. 25-26.) In a January 1992 letter, Nolte praised the *Rudolf Gutachten* as "an important contribution to a very important issue," and expressed the hope that it will provoke wide discussion. "The final word in this exchange among the technical specialists," writes Nolte," has not yet been said." (p. 316)

With regard to documentary evidence, Nolte notes: "The fact that so many Nuremberg documents exist only as copies, and that the great majority of the 'originals' have never been made available is a further argument that cannot be lightly dismissed." (p. 314)

Hitler

As he makes repeatedly clear in this book, the Berlin professor is certainly no Nazi or "apologist for Hitler." (Nolte might best be characterized as a skeptical traditionalist.)

At the same time, though, he attempts, throughout this book, to come to grips with the meaning of Hitler, presenting a complex view of the German leader that contrasts sharply with the popular media image.

Contrary to the widespread view of Hitler as a person of no real education or deep understanding, the transcripts of the German leader's freewheeling "table talk" remarks to colleagues alone show him to have been a man of extraordinary intelligence, perception and wide-ranging knowledge. Hitler understood English and French, and some Italian. He read widely, and had an astonishing knowledge in many fields. A reading of the transcripts of his conversations with minister Albert Speer, for example, shows that Hitler had a specialist's understanding of armaments. (p. 163)

Nolte takes note of the work of Rainer Zitelmann, a young German historian who has assembled compelling evidence to show that Hitler was a remarkably more farsighted, subtle, intelligent and "modern" leader than historians have understood or acknowledged. (pp. 131, 150)

As Nolte observes, English historian Alan Bullock argues that in the military field, Hitler's ideas and innovations were far more advanced and progressive than those of any other statesman of his time.

Far more accurately than Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, Hitler foresaw the shape of the world that would emerge in the aftermath of the Second World War. He rather clearly foresaw the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the place of Germany in the postwar world.

Achievements

A real understanding of the Third Reich, Nolte maintains, requires an acknowledgment not only of Hitler's failures, but also of his undeniable achievements as a political leader and statesman.

Perhaps Hitler's "greatest achievement" — in the view of one historian cited here — was his success in winning the support of the great majority of the German people.

This was due in no small part to another achievement: Hitler's success in bringing Germany out of the worldwide Great Depression, and in creating an "economic miracle" with full employment and prosperity with stable prices.

An "incredible achievement" was Hitler's success, within just five years, of transforming a forcibly demilitarized nation into Europe's strongest military power.

After a visit to Germany in 1936, David Lloyd George — who had been Britain's premier during the First World War — praised Hitler as "the greatest piece of luck that has come to your country since Bismarck, and personally I would say since Frederick the Great."

"Weak Dictatorship"

Hitler's Third Reich fostered an image of itself as a totalitarian, "monocratic," and authoritarian *Führerstaat* ("leadership state"). Regrettably, contends Nolte, too many historians have uncritically accepted this misleading image.

Echoing arguments that have been made by others, including British historian David Irving, Nolte points out that authority and power in the Third Reich was actually far more widely diffused than many realize.

With Hitler's indulgence, political leaders and a bewildering array of state and party agencies competed with one another, frequently working at cross purposes.

Commenting (perhaps with some exaggeration) on this state of affairs, a frustrated Joseph Goebbels confided to his diary in 1942: "Everyone does and permits whatever he wants because there's no strong authority anywhere ... The Party does its own thing, and won't permit itself to be influenced by anyone."

Entire Third Reich government ministries remained practically "Nazi free," notes Nolte, and while many younger officers were dedicated National Socialists, the German armed forces remained largely free of NS party influence.

Sir Neville Henderson, Britain's ambassador in Berlin in 1939, regarded Hitler as an essentially reasonable and moderate man, while German propaganda chief Dr. Goebbels complained during the war about Hitler's lack of decisiveness. As Nolte observes, historian Hans Mommsen has characterized Hitler as a "weak dictator." (p. 179)

In cultural and intellectual life, the numerous official rivalries contributed to fostering a surprising degree of "plurality." Church affairs minister Kerrl sharply criticized the "neo-pagan" views of party ideologue Rosenberg who, for his part, denounced the writings of education minister Rust as ideologically wrong-

headed. (p. 175)

Drawing parallels between the government style of Hitler's Third Reich and Roosevelt's New Deal, Nolte suggests that a degree of "chaos" of governmental authorities and agencies may be an integral feature of every modern liberal democratic state. (p. 384)

Reactionary or Modern?

Frequently portrayed as the quintessential "reactionary" regime, Nolte marshals considerable evidence here to show that the Third Reich was, in many regards, a pace-setting "modern" society. In recent years, Nolte and other (generally younger) German historians have more and more strongly emphasized the "modernistic" tendencies in the Third Reich, which presaged developments in the United States and other liberal-democratic societies. "In its essence," one female historian has recently concluded (p. 150), German National Socialism was "an anti-traditional, modernizing force."

Nolte takes note here of the Third Reich's innovative large-scale urban planning and environmental policies, its promotion of modern housing for the general population, education of gifted children from poor families in progressive but elite schools, a strong democratization process within the German armed forces, the character of the National Socialist party as a broad-based, non-sectarian "peoples party," and the elimination of mass unemployment and job creation through programs that can be called "Keynesian."

Even Dr. Goebbels' much-maligned propaganda machinery might more accurately be described (pp. 150 f.) as a

> modern instrument of government on an American model, through which the democracies seek to continue their rule in the post-bourgeois society and to perpetuate their technocratic system.

"European Civil War"

A central premise of this book is the author's view that the core of 20th-century European history is the era from 1914 to 1991 — that is, from the outbreak of the First World War to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Nolte characterizes this period as a great European Civil War, a life and death struggle between the forces of Communism, on the one hand, and the rest of Europe and the West, on the other. He writes (p. 11):

> The great civil war of the 20th century was the life-and-death struggle between chiliastish [millennial] Communism, which first came to power in a large state [Russia] in 1917, and all other forces, which it was convinced were doomed to failure as "capitalist" or "bourgeois," but which were concentrated in surprising strength and decisiveness in German National Socialism...

The high point of this struggle was the titanic clash between the armies of Soviet Russia and National Socialist Germany.

Red Star or Swastika?

Turning to "future controversies," Nolte deals at length with the nature and impact of Soviet Communism (Bolshevism). Even more than has been the case with National Socialist Germany, he suggests, historians have too readily accepted the Soviet regime's propaganda image of itself. Far too many western historians have failed to appreciate the bloody reality of Soviet Communism, or the very real threat it posed to Europe.

At the time of his death in 1953, Nolte observes, Stalin was mourned by millions around the world, even though he had already put to death in peacetime more people than Hitler would later cause to be killed as civilians during war. Stalin imposed the greatest and bloodiest social revolution in history — the so-called "collectivization" of agriculture — which meant the extermination of millions of Soviet Russia's most productive farmers. (p. 158)

As Nolte points out, more and more evidence has come to light in recent years to show that Stalin was preparing to attack Germany and Europe in 1941, and that Hitler's "Barbarossa" attack of June 22, 1941, had the character of a preventive strike. This thesis, which if true demands a drastic revision of the generally accepted view of the entire Second World War, has been most persuasively presented by Russian historian V. Suvorov (Rezun) in his book *Icebreaker*. (pp. 269-271).

For millions of Europeans in the 1920s and 1930s, the Red Star and the Swastika represented the only realistic alternatives for the future of Germany, and indeed, of the entire West. Hitler was by no means the only European leader who took seriously the Soviet danger to European order, culture and civilization. Without the reality of this threat, the "fascist" response of Germany (and other European nations) is hardly imaginable.

Hitler, in Nolte's view, was an anti-Communist of "Communist" decisiveness and spiritual energy. Alone among his contemporaries, he fought Communism with radical, "non-bourgeois" ruthlessness. (pp. 349-367). Nolte writes (pp. 366 f.):

> Twentieth century world history is only understandable when one is willing to acknowledge the connection made by the enemies of Bolshevism between a fear of annihilation and an intention of annihilation, and to recognize the simple truth that the statements of anti-Communists about the misdeeds of Bolshevism were, in fact, well grounded. Since 1990, at the latest, these are facts that no longer be seriously disputed, and that

> even the propagandistic exaggerations [of anti-Communists] reflected a rational core ...
>
> One day the question of the hierarchy of motives of Hitler and National Socialism will become a matter of dispute in the scholarly literature, and the thesis of the primacy of anti-Communism is likely to be a main point.

The Jewish Taboo

Fully conscious that any frank discussion of the Jewish role in 20th century history is fraught with danger, Nolte nevertheless boldly grabs hold of this taboo-protected "hot iron." For example,

Prof. Ernst Nolte

he approvingly cites words of Israeli Holocaust scholar Yehuda Bauer: "The National Socialist view was accurate insofar as it regarded the Jews as a foreign element in European society, with a different religion and ancestry." (p. 376) At another point, Nolte writes: "For the Zionists, including Herzl and Weizmann, anti-Semitism was an entirely natural reaction of the 'host nations' to the abiding separateness and the aggressive activity of the Jews, which was based on intellectual superiority." (p. 419)

Taking note of the ancient Jewish tradition of zealous opposition to any regime that seems to threaten Jewish interests, Nolte points out that within weeks after Hitler's coming to power, influential Jewish leaders were already calling for economic warfare against Germany.

At the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939, Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann issued a kind of declaration of war against Germany, and in August 1941 leading Soviet Jews issued a passionate appeal to the Jews of the world to join in the life-and-death struggle against National Socialist Germany. (p. 396)

While rejecting talk of "Jewish Bolshevism" as misleadingly simplistic, Nolte points out the "undeniable fact" that Jews played a highly disproportionate role in the Bolshevik revolution. "Nothing was more understandable than that Jews and members of other minority peoples would play a major role in the February and October [1917] revolutions [in Russia]: Of the ten men who met with Lenin on October 23, 1917, and agreed to launch the [Bolshevik] revolution, no fewer then six were Jews." Referring to the Jewish role in the critical early years of the Soviet state, Nolte comments: "It is indeed doubtful whether the Bolshevik regime could have survived the [Russian] civil war [of 1917-1920] without men such as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Sverdlov, Kamenev, Sokolnikov and Uritsky." (p. 418)

"Real thinking"

Consistent with the author's strong plea for a more thoughtful and objective look at the phenomenon of Hitler and National Socialism, Nolte presents his often highly unorthodox views without polemics, indeed with a certain reserve and tentativeness. Unlike those who incessantly insist that "we" must "never forget" the "lessons of the Holocaust," Nolte calls for an evaluation of the Hitler era as free as possible of strident, emotion-laden polemics and self-serving purposes. Any truly useful understanding of the Third Reich, Nolte argues persuasively, requires an informed awareness of the historical context.

While Nolte would not regard this book as any kind of final word on the "points of contention" dealt with here, he concludes (p. 431) with words of optimism:

> I confidently expect that in the future real *thinking* about the National Socialist era will play a greater role in the scholarly literature, and that the controversies to which the final portion of this book is dedicated will therefore become specific themes for discussion.

Although the skewed mass media image of 20th century history that currently predominates is certain to continue to influence many for years to come, books such as this one give reason for hope that truth and common sense can and will eventually prevail.

Life of a Much-Maligned Conductor Examined in New Biography

The Devil's Music Master: The Controversial Life and Career of Wilhelm Furtwängler, by Sam H. Shirakawa. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. Hardcover. 506 pages. Photographs. Footnotes. Index. $35.00. ISBN: 0-19-506508-5.

Reviewed by Andrew Gray

Conductors in our time fall readily into two categories: Wilhelm Furtwängler and all the others. Among those who recognized this truth early on was Adolf Hitler, possessor of perhaps the best musical ear of any contemporary statesman — except for Ignaz Paderewski. Despite many importunities and provocations in later years, Hitler never wavered in this judgment. A photograph of the Führer reaching upward to the podium to shake the conduc-

Furtwängler conducts the Berlin Philharmonic in a performance of a Beethoven concerto during the lunch hour in a German armaments factory, 1944.

tor's hand after a 1935 concert of the Berlin Philharmonic is remarkable testimony — such expressions of respect by Hitler were rare.

This admiration — and Furtwängler's decision to remain in Germany to continue to lead the *Berliner Philharmoniker* as the nation's premier orchestra — has fostered a decades-long campaign of denigration of the conductor by a legion of self-indulgent scribblers, musicological and otherwise. In their view, Hitler's approval condemns him to a kind of eternal damnation. It's a wonder that shepherd dogs, vegetable soup and mineral water have been spared their opprobrium.

This work's title is misleading: it is not simply another exercise in diabolization. Indeed, Mr. Shirakawa intends this as an apologia, and is at pains to show that Furtwängler's denigrators are guilty of distortion and exaggeration. What Shirakawa seems incapable of grasping, though, is that Furtwängler had nothing whatever to apologize for.

At the heart of this book is a lengthy list, alphabetically arrayed, of some of the many politically and ancestrally persecutable individuals who were spared harassment by the National Socialist government as a consequence of Furtwängler's personal intervention. This includes a number of "full" Jews who spent the entire war within Germany, entirely unmolested. Indeed, thanks to the author's commendable digging, this volume is a lode of such nuggets.

Do the performing arts flourish best in times of dire stress and

Yehudi Menuhin with Wilhelm Furtwängler

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emergency? There is much evidence for this. One thinks, for example, of theatrical undertakings by German prisoners in Allied P.O.W. camps of *Faust*, reputedly among the most intense and forceful ever given. Or of the German entertainment troupes that performed right behind the front lines in Russia, even in the latter stages of the war when many were overrun and vanished virtually without trace. Or of the 1943-44 summer performances of *Die Meistersinger* at Bayreuth, with audiences comprised almost entirely of wounded soldiers. (One such performance, conducted by Furtwängler himself, has happily been preserved on tape.) Or best of all, the concerts under his baton of the Berlin Philharmonic from the years 1942-4 (tapes of which were stolen by the Soviets in 1945 and then returned, in the burgeoning spirit of Glasnost, in 1987).

In this sense, these wartime concerts constitute an apogee of the performing arts; the evidence for the ear, even without consideration of the extraordinary circumstances in which the musicians and the audiences found themselves, is unmistakable. That the next century is likely to appreciate the centrality of Furtwängler to our civilization, or what is left of it, most likely accounts for the recent renewal of attacks upon his memory — some of which have appeared in the form of reviews of this book. Mr. Shirakawa, it has been contended, is much too indulgent. Yes, he is — but not in the sense those propagandists assume. One of the privileges of being a revisionist is to decode such texts as this, to see through and beyond it, and to sense the hollow ring many of its judgments will have to future ears. Shirakawa means well, but he remains entangled in the metaphor of diabolism.

There are a few heroes in this story — Yehudi Menuhin chief among them. Furtwängler was never anti-Semitic, a fact his detractors obviously find embarrassing. The revolting behavior during the postwar period of such former colleagues as Bruno Walter makes excruciating reading, as do the lucubrations of that moralistic gasbag, Thomas Mann, to say nothing of his lunatic daughter Erika. (At times one has the feeling the whole Mann family was a bit *bekloppt*).

Furtwängler was not long on humor, but worth preserving is his tart comment about the postwar critics who condemned him for remaining in Germany after 1933: "They seem to feel all seventy million Germans should have decamped and left Hitler behind alone."

Mr. Shirakawa takes welcome and indignant aim at Delbert Clark's intentionally distorted reporting in the *New York Times* of the preposterous 1946 "de-nazification" proceedings endured by Furtwängler (which kept him from the podium for nearly two years). All the more heartening, then, was his return, in May 1947, to the podium of the Berlin Philharmonic, to conduct his first postwar concert. The author mentions cheering of 15 minutes duration at the close. No, the ovation lasted *an hour* and 15 minutes, and there were 47 curtain calls.

Soviet Atrocities in German Silesia

Silesian Inferno: War Crimes of the Red Army on its March into Silesia in 1945, by Karl Friedrich Grau. Introduction by Prof. Ernst Deuerlein. Valley Forge, Penn.: Landpost Press, 1992. Hardcover. 210 pages. Charts. Maps. Bibliography. ISBN 1-880881-09-8. (Available from the IHR for $19.95, plus $2.00 shipping.)

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

This work — a re-issue of a 1970 English translation (from the 1966 German original) — limits itself to atrocities committed between January and August 1945 by Red Army troops and functionaries in the Silesian districts of Oppeln and Wohlau (although for comparative purposes a chapter on Soviet crimes reported from other Silesian districts is included). *Silesian Inferno* gathers and analyzes the evidence of sworn, signed statements by the German victims. Important contemporary documents are also presented here.

Considerable pains have been taken objectively to present and examine the testimonies. While the revisionist eye will note a certain amount of hearsay, nevertheless the abundance of convincing, and shattering, first-hand testimony to gruesome Soviet crimes, ranging from the vilest murders and rapes on down, against helpless non-combatants, will provoke shame or at least defensiveness among even the most hardened advocates of the myth of Allied rectitude. Supplementing the various testimonies, most of them excerpted, are helpful charts showing the extent of Red bestiality.

Professor Ernst Deuerlein's introduction places the systematic Soviet atrocities squarely in the context of Soviet policy toward Germany, demonstrating that the mass murders and rapes were the ineluctable consequence of a calculated and deliberate choice between alternative modes of dealing with the "German problem": whether to liberate the oppressed German masses from the rule of "the Ruhr magnates and Prussian junkers and their Hitlerite henchmen," or to heed the hate-drunk exhortations of Ilya Ehrenburg, Stalin's reigning *Literat*, to rape and kill the German "beasts." Citing Stalin's well-known interviews with the Yugoslav writer Milovan Djilas, Deuerlein also shows that kindly Uncle Joe was entirely cognizant of his troops' behavior, and took no action, rather rationalizing it with a logic that would do credit to his predecessors among the khans who ruled the vast steppes before him. (To his credit, Deuerlein,

writing at a time when German nationalist writers tended to be publicly more indulgent of the Western powers, nevertheless points to high-ranking British and American officials whose tirades against the Germans were scarcely less vicious than those of Ehrenburg.)

A minor weakness of *Silesian Inferno* are the author's several scattered references to German policies, attributed to the National Socialists, that he suggests paralleled, or even evoked, the Red war and peace crimes. Here it must be stated that whatever the numerous failings of Nazi (and German) wartime behavior, including the harsh conduct of the war in the East, no German crimes can match those of Stalin and his henchmen, against their own peoples and others, in war and in peace, nor the murderous bombing terror of the British and American air forces against hapless civilians from Amsterdam to Bucharest (not to forget Yokohama, Tokyo, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki). This may be for many a bitter pill to swallow, but it is based on historical fact, not mere propaganda.

Readers unfamiliar with Silesia and its history will learn of the civilizing mission of its German settlers, most notably in their peaceful peopling of that historic province following the 13th-century depredations of the Mongols.

The English translation of the text is generally first-rate, contrasting markedly with rather clumsy English of the dust jacket.

Anyone interested in a clinical presentation and analysis of World War II conduct of one of the "Big Four" that sat in judgment at Nuremberg, as well as anyone with an interest in the comparative evaluation of testimonies and reports as to the numerous atrocities of the Second World War (real and imagined), is urged to read *Silesian Inferno*.

Not Much to Repellent Holocaust Thriller

Born Guilty: Children of Nazi Families, by Peter Sichrovsky. Translated by Jean Steinberg. New York: Basic Books, 1988. Hardcover. 178 pages. $17.95. ISBN 0-465-00742-2.

Reviewed by Theodore J. O'Keefe

This book would be more offensive if it were less disgusting. As it is, reading *Born Guilty* is somewhat akin to finding dog droppings on the dinner table: a dismaying incident, to be sure, but not one unmasterable.

Author Peter Sichrovsky, who is billed as "a distinguished Austrian journalist" in the jacket flap blurb, has allegedly approached a dozen or so "children [and grandchildren!] of Nazi families" in the interests of profiting from the ongoing agitprop, Nuremberg trials-style bedevilment of everyone and everything German. His efforts here have been effusively endorsed on the dust jacket by a triad of male Muses from a Jewish Helicon (or is it Holo-con?): headshrinker Robert Jay Lifton, author of *The Nazi Doctors*; former Reaganite, Waldheim-baiting US ambassador to Austria Ronald Lauder (a candidate for inclusion in a book entitled *Born Rich: Children of Jewish Cosmetics Queens*); and Howard Fast, an ex-Communist who became the television mini-series Milton of New York's squalid garment district.

The journalistic, let alone scholarly, merits of Sichrovsky's book may be gleaned from the author's indiscriminate characterization of his subjects as the children of "perpetrators" (p. 6), "the sons and daughters of murderers" (p. 12), etc., while supplying no evidence of crimes. Indeed, he concedes that "the child of someone responsible for the deaths of thousands is not necessarily of greater interest than the child of a small-town mayor who may have merely put some Social Democrats in jail."

The bewilderment, confusion, self-pity, and despair that various of those contemporary Germans Sichrovsky claims to have interviewed is the entirely understandable result of the internalized, ritualistic self-hatred that the hirelings who have dominated postwar Germany, acting in accordance with their masters' commands, have inculcated in their own people.

One young German woman quoted at length, "Stefanie," "the proud one" (Chapter 2), is worth hearing for her indomitable, if unschooled, spirit, garnered from her "Nazi" grandpa. You can read it in five minutes at your local bookstore. So, unless you wish to peer voyeuristically at the self-flagellation that the author claims to have recorded from his several informants, there's no good reason to buy this book.

The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses

"You have to reckon with the complex of Ulysses' lie. . . Everyone hopes and wants to come out of this business with the halo of saint, a hero, or a martyr, and each one embroiders his own Odyssey without realizing that the reality is quite enough in itself."

These words, spoken to Frenchman Paul Rassinier by a fellow inmate at Buchenwald, became emblematic of Rassinier's own courageous odyssey. His devotion to truth, even about his former enemies, led him to undertake the first systematic study of the alleged Nazi "Holocaust" from a skeptical standpoint. *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses* combines the major portions of Rassinier's most important writings on the camps, the "eyewitnesses," and the "Holocaust" literature.

Softcover • 447pp. • Index
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Letters

Lincoln: A "Clever Politician"?

Although Robert Morgan's look at Abraham Lincoln's negro policy [in the September-October 1993 *Journal*] is a thought-provoking example of revisionist writing, I believe the author has overlooked alternative explanations for Lincoln's decisions and policies.

Consider, for example, Morgan's portrayal of Lincoln's personal feelings about blacks. Morgan cites these words of Lincoln from the fourth Lincoln-Douglas debate: "I am not now, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races." As sweeping as this seems, I would attempt to put it into context by pointing out:

• Douglas' emphatic stand against political or social equality of the races obliged Lincoln to appear to be just as anti-negro in order to win votes, regardless of his real personal feelings on the matter.

• The "physical difference" alluded to by Lincoln in that same speech may have been a reference only to skin color. He may not have been referring to the many other and more profound physical differences between the two races.

• Lincoln apparently never expressed the view that the differences between the races are innate.

• During the debate in Ottawa, Lincoln agreed with Douglas that the negro "is not my equal in many respects." However, he went on to say that there is "no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

• By the standards of the day, Lincoln's public stance on this issue could have been considered middle-of-the-road. The extreme views were represented by Douglas at one end, and by the abolitionists at the other.

In the view of some historians, Lincoln opposed slavery very early on. Because he realized that the Constitution stood in the way, though, he knew that he would have to proceed cautiously to abolish it.

Another reason for caution was that people in the Northern states, who were generally more willing to abolish slavery than those in the Southern states, might nevertheless have strongly opposed him if the slaves were freed all at once. Given this, Lincoln might therefore have taken pains to hide his true intentions.

If this view is correct, the Emancipation Proclamation takes on a new significance. Flawed as it was in terms of freeing slaves (although it did go much further than either Confiscation Act by eliminating extensive judicial procedures), it nevertheless acclimated people to the idea of eventual true emancipation, and did so without the messy reality of actually freeing any slaves. The "military necessity" cited Lincoln to justify the Proclamation was simply eyewash: he did not rescind the Proclamation after this so-called "necessity" vanished.

Lincoln apparently wavered only once in his opposition to slavery: in August 1864, when he briefly considered peace terms that did not include emancipation. By the next day, however, his doubts seem to have fled, and he vowed to fight through to unconditional surrender and to stick with emancipation no matter what.

In light of all this, Lincoln's position on resettlement (colonization) could have been little more than an expedient political ploy. That is, when confronted with the dilemma presented by slavery and the Constitution, he regarded colonization as a convenient straw at which to clutch. Later, as he perceived that slavery might be gotten rid of, he offered up colonization as a diversion before each anti-slavery move he made.

Support for this interpretation can be seen in Lincoln's appreciation for and understanding of economic factors. Resettling any significant portion of the negro population would have required staggering funds. When Lincoln had no feasible alternative, he was forced to turn a blind eye to the costs involved. But once he saw that slavery could be abolished, the eventual costs merely spurred him to prosecute the war.

If Lincoln truly had supported resettlement of the blacks, he would have continued to press for it after emancipation. While this is suggested by General Butler's report of his conversation with Lincoln in April 1865, some historians hold that this meeting could not have taken place when Butler said it did, and that the entire conversation therefore may have been an invention. If so, we are left to conclude that John Hay was correct in reporting that Lincoln had abandoned colonization by July 1864.

In my view, Lincoln was little more than a clever politician. Whenever he had to choose from among several different options, he always made the politically smart move. Perhaps not incidentally, he also always made the choice that resulted in greatly increasing the size and powers of the federal government.

Neil Martin
Los Angeles

Thank you for the formidable *Journal* piece on Lincoln's views on slavery. Were the "Great Emancipator's" actual reasoning known to the leaders of the Civil

Rights industry, they would revile Lincoln and tear down his memorial, warts and all.

C. H.
Troy, Michigan

Religion and Revisionism

Being a revisionist means putting question marks on supposedly established truths. Every new issue of the IHR *Journal* demonstrates beyond doubt that no "revealed truths" are free of error, whether simple mistakes or blatant lies.

M. C. of Pittsburgh [in the Sept.-Oct. issue, p. 48] warns you against the loss of Christian readers if you persist in supporting Dr. Larson's opinions about the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the view of this reader, whether Dr. Larson is right or wrong is irrelevant here: Larson's opinion is considered unacceptable (heretical?) by Christian readers.

If the *Journal* were to be submitted to Christian, Moslem, Jewish, and other censorship, it might please everyone, but what would be left worth reading?

To be a revisionist means, in my view, going beyond a non-conformist view of history. It is a cast of mind, a way of life, with no room for dogmas or imposed truths of any kind.

What revisionist would not agree with this definition of free thinking, provided by the French mathematician and philosopher Henri Poincarré (1854-1912):

Thinking may never be subjected to a dogma,
nor to a party,
nor to a passion,
nor to a concern,
nor to a prejudice,
nor to anything,
but to the facts themselves;
because being subjected means the end of all thinking.

Keep up the good work!

J. Kelfkens
Brussels, Belgium

Awareness In Eastern Europe

I want to thank you very heartily for your letter and for the IHR catalog of Revisionist historical works. I am not particularly well informed about this special field, but I believe that your point of view is worthy of attention. I would be very glad to help you to circulate your *Journal* and books.

Of course, this is a rather dangerous undertaking in this society, which barely understands what is meant by genuine pluralism. Because of my non-conformist views, I was a victim of Communist persecution.

Even if your views may not be entirely correct, they deserve to be known and understood, even here in eastern Europe.

Dr. C. J.
Vilnius, Lithuania

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space.

OUTRAGEOUS OPINION, TERRIFYING FACT, BRACING REALISM, FROM GARET GARRETT'S

AMERICA'S ROAD FROM SELF-RULE TO SERVITUDE
BURDEN of EMPIRE
THE LEGACY OF THE ROOSEVELT-TRUMAN REVOLUTION

Garet Garrett

Introduction by Theodore J. O'Keefe

BURDEN of EMPIRE

"There is no comfort in history for those who put their faith in forms; who think there is safeguard in words inscribed on parchment, preserved in a glass case, reproduced in facsimile and hauled to and fro on a Freedom Train."

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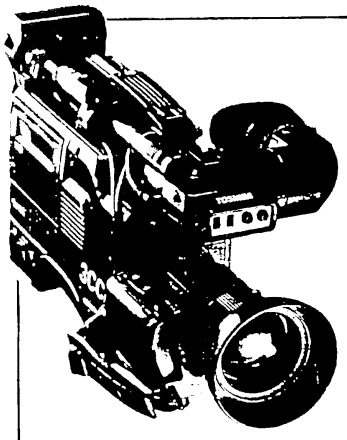


ON CAMERA Against the Holocaust Lobby

Dr. ROBERT FAURISSON ***DAVID IRVING***

MARK WEBER ***Dr. ROBERT COUNTESS***

On April 22, 1993, presidents and high-ranking officials of the United States, Israel and other countries gathered in Washington, DC to dedicate the new US Holocaust Memorial Museum. An army of journalists, cameramen and commentators was there to broadcast the media event to the world.

FAURISSON

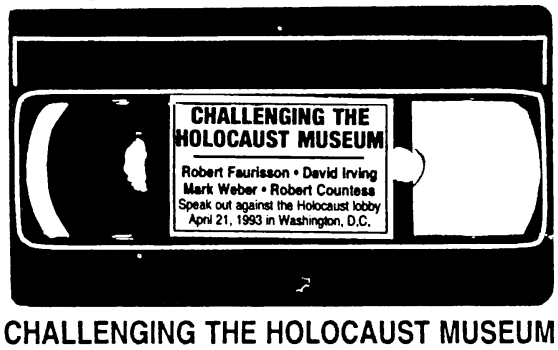
IRVING

WEBER

IHR was there, too — there to declare its unequivocal opposition to this monstrous $160 million monument to flawed priorities and illicit power. On April 21 IHR held a conference at a hotel in a suburb of Washington, DC where 200 friends came to hear **Robert Faurisson** from France, **David Irving** from England, *JHR* editor **Mark Weber** and **Robert Countess** speak out against the Holocaust lobby. The event was captured on video, including, Prof. Faurisson's challenge to Museum officials that read, in part:

> *Tomorrow the US Holocaust Memorial Museum will be dedicated in Washington. I challenge the Museum authorities to provide us a physical representation of the magical gas chamber. I have searched for 30 years for such a representation without finding it . . . I warn the officials of the US Holocaust Museum . . . that tomorrow, April 22, 1993, they need not offer, as proof of the existence of Nazi gas chambers, a disinfection gas chamber, a shower room, a morgue, or an air-raid shelter . . . I want a portrayal of an entire Nazi gas chamber, one that gives a precise idea of its technique and operation.*

Watch **Prof. Faurisson** deliver the complete text of his devastating challenge. Watch the inimitable **David Irving** thrill his audience with details of the Holocaust lobby's stepped-up efforts to crush truth in history. Watch **Mark Weber** deliver his rousing "call to arms" in opposition to the museum, and hear **Dr. Countess'** elegant tribute to the IHR — all in an unforgettable 90-minute video that tells you what you need to know about this costly and dangerous mistake they call a "museum."


CHALLENGING THE HOLOCAUST MUSEUM
Robert Faurisson • David Irving
Mark Weber • Robert Countess
Speak out against the Holocaust lobby
April 21, 1993 in Washington, D.C.

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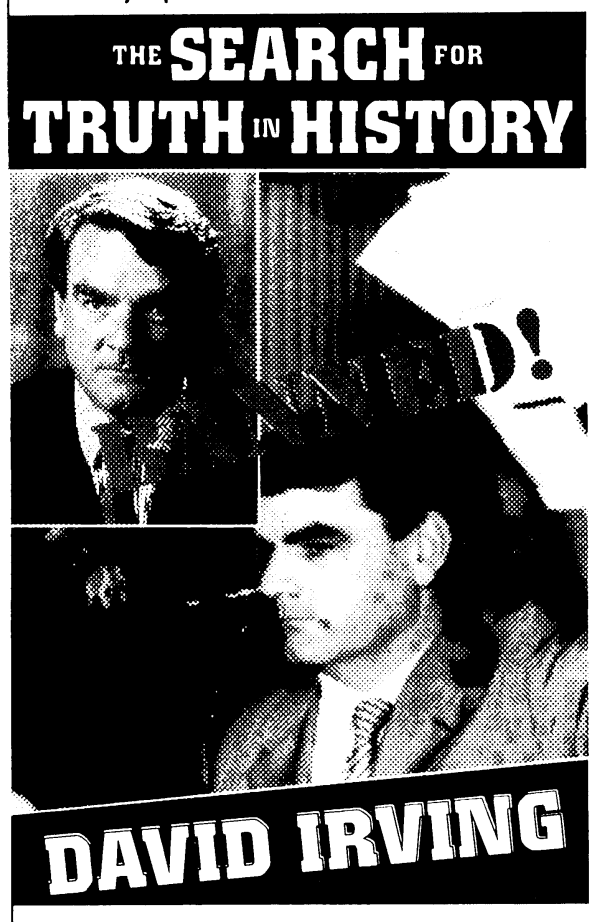
Barred From Australia

Last February the Australian government banned British historian **David Irving** on the pretext that he was *"likely to become involved in activities disruptive to, or violence threatening harm to, the Australian community or a group within the Australian community."*

Zionist organizations of course cheered the ban — Irving's views are *"against the national interest,"* they bitched — but the Australian media, with candor unthinkable elsewhere in the West, zeroed right in on the ban's pivotal component — Jewish pressure — sharply condemning the campaign by Jewish groups to impose their fanatical views on the entire country. As the controversy raged, Irving appeared by satellite hook-up for 20 minutes on a major prime-time Australia television news program.



Irving and his views soon became household knowledge in Australia.

Lamenting the adverse publicity, **Isi Leibler**, President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, cautioned that Jewish interests would be better served if only Jewish groups would conceal their role in such cases.

Irving took offensive:

> *The battle for freedom of speech is just beginning. . . I don't intend to be beaten. I'm a fighter. Free speech is becoming a rarity around the world, and it is being restricted to those with politically correct views. I'm not politically correct. I express views based on information I've dug out of archives. . . If I'm telling lies or half-truths, why don't they let me come to Australia and expose me?*

By this restriction of the freedom of speech in Australia, and of the rights of Australians to hear me, my opponents will achieve precisely the result they wished to avoid — namely an increase in anti-Semitic feelings among ordinary Australian citizens.

Now, from IHR and Focal Point Productions, learn the whole story of the ban and the evil behind it, see the extraordinary headlines and copy it sparked in the Aussie media, and watch Irving deliver a rousing talk on the ban and his plans to fight it.

This exclusive 80-minute video, ***The Search for Truth in History*** (also available on audiotape) has already sold thousands of copies in Australia. It's history in the making. It's about the war for Freedom of Speech. And it's a case study of how the real bigots and hatemongers bend governments to their will. Order your copy of this high quality, full-color video production today. Your documentary library is not complete without it.

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(Cont. from page 3)
us], the factor of service to the state of Israel is also important ... A focus on Jews as victims helps generate sympathy for Israel."

Historical revisionism is the subject of a lengthy feature article in a major newspaper of Karachi, Pakistan. "What they say happened, and what really happened: A revisionist perspective of history," appears prominently in the "weekend magazine" section" of *The News*, September 17, 1993.

S.A.H. Ahsani — identified as a former ambassador, and now an adjunct professor of history at the University of Texas at Arlington — deals with a range of historical issues, including the American Civil War, the assassination of President Kennedy, the origins of the First World War, and the May 1941 flight (and subsequent fate) of Rudolf Hess.

Ahsani favorably discusses the "researches by the American Institute of Historical Review," and reports approvingly on David Cole's videotape about Auschwitz. Ahsani concludes his lengthy article with the words: "It is high time that historians in developing countries started studying revisionist history. (Those interested can write to the Institute of Historical Review ... ", and then provides the IHR address.

Ahmed Rami, a Moroccan-born revisionist who now lives in exile in Sweden, spoke at the 1992 IHR Conference. Not long ago, he conducted interviews with two prominent revisionist activists for one of the most influential newspapers in the Arab world. An interview with Otto Ernst Remer (who spoke at the 1987 IHR Conference) was published in two parts in the July 20 and July 23 issues of the *Al Shaab* ("The People"), a twice-weekly Cairo newspaper. Along with the interview are prominently placed photographs of Rami, Remer, and the two of them together.

A month later, a lengthy interview by Rami with Robert Faurisson appeared in two parts, August 24 and 27. Accompanying the interview in the August 24 issue, which contains several favorable mentions of the IHR and this *Journal*, is a photograph of Faurisson together with Rami at Dachau. *Al Shaab* is apparently the world's most influential "islamist" newspaper, with a circulation estimated at 700,000 in Egypt, and 300,000 elsewhere in the Arab-speaking world.

A generally fair and remarkably balanced article about Holocaust revisionism appeared in the August 1993 issue of the glossy (and raunchily pornographic) monthly *Hustler*. In "Whitewashing Hitler: Taking the Gas Out of Nazi Infamy," writer Jim Redden — who is also publisher of the Portland (Oregon) "alternative" tabloid paper *PDXS* — straight-forwardly reports on numerous aspects of the Holocaust debate, including the *Leuchter Report*, David Cole's videotape, and the views of David Irving and Arthur Butz.

Bradley Smith's revisionist campus ad campaign continues to make waves, in spite of efforts by the Simon Wiesenthal Center and other influential Jewish-Zionist organizations to put him out of business. For a while it seemed as if such pressure might be having an effect. In recent months, though, Smith's ad campaign has come roaring back, as strong as ever. (See the Nov.-Dec. 1993 *Journal*, p. 22.)

A high point was the publication on December 7 of Smith's ad, "A Revisionist's View of the U.S. Holocaust Museum," in the weekly student newspaper at Brandeis University, a predominantly Jewish school. Several thousand copies of the offending issue were quickly stolen, and when further copies were distributed under police guard, about 250 students rallied in protest. Reports about the Brandeis campus uproar and Smith's ad campaign have appeared in newspapers around the country (such as *The New York Times*, Dec. 12).

Media coverage of our work has not been the only indication of growing impact. During the past nine months, *Journal* subscriptions have tripled; in one month alone nearly a thousand subscribers signed up. This growth is due in large part to several successful promotional mailings organized by IHR Director Tom Marcellus. (We like to think that the *Journal*'s contents and new format have also been factors.)

Our last IHR Conference was held in October 1992. After a regrettable delay, preparations are now underway for the next one, the Twelfth, which will be held in September in southern California. We'll keep you posted about details.

Georgi K. Zhukov

From Moscow to Berlin

Marshal Zhukov's Greatest Battles

The greatest Soviet commander tells how he directed the Red Army's bitter last- ditch defense of Moscow, master-minded the encirclement and defeat of the German Sixth Army at Stalingrad, smashed the last great German counteroffensive of Kursk-Orel, and led the climatic assault on Hitler's Berlin. Must reading for every student of military history. Hardcover, 304 pp., photos, maps, $18.95, plus $3 for shipping.

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The War that Never Ends

Nearly fifty years ago, the bombing and the shooting ended in the most total military victories, and the most annihilating defeats, of the modern age. Yet the war lives on, in the words—and the deeds—of the politicians, in the purposeful distortions of the professors, in the blaring propaganda of the media. The Establishment which rules ordinary Americans *needs* to keep World War II alive—in a version which fractures the facts and sustains old lies to manufacture phony justifications for sending America's armed forces abroad in one senseless, wasteful, and dangerous military adventure after another.

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace is the most authoritative, and the most comprehensive, one-volume history of America's real road into World War II. The work of eight outstanding American historians and researchers, under the editorial leadership of the brilliant Revisionist historian Harry Elmer Barnes, this timeless classic demonstrates why World War II wasn't America's war, and how our leaders, from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on down, first lied us into the war, then lied us into a maze of international entanglements that have brought America ***Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace***.

More Than Just a History

But ***Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*** is more than just a history: it's a *case history* of how politicians like FDR use propaganda, outright lies, and suppression of the truth to scapegoat patriotic opposition to war, to incite hatred of the enemy (*before* they're the enemy!), and to lure foreign nations into diplomatic traps—all to serve, not America's national interest, but *international* interests.

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace gives you:

- Matchless, careful debunking of all the arguments that led us into World War II;
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- Inspired insight into how future wars have sprung and will continue to spring from the internationalist impetus that led us from World War II, through the "Cold War" (and the hot wars we fought in Korea and Vietnam against our WWII Communist "allies") to the "New World Order"—until Americans, armed with the truth, force their leaders to return to our traditional non-interventionist foreign policy.

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Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace is much, much more than a standard history book. Its *eleven* separate essays by *eight* different authors (average length 65 pages) make it a virtual encyclopedia on the real causes and the actual results of American participation in the Second World War. You'll find yourself reading, and re-reading, concise, judicious and thorough studies by the leading names in American Revisionist scholarship.

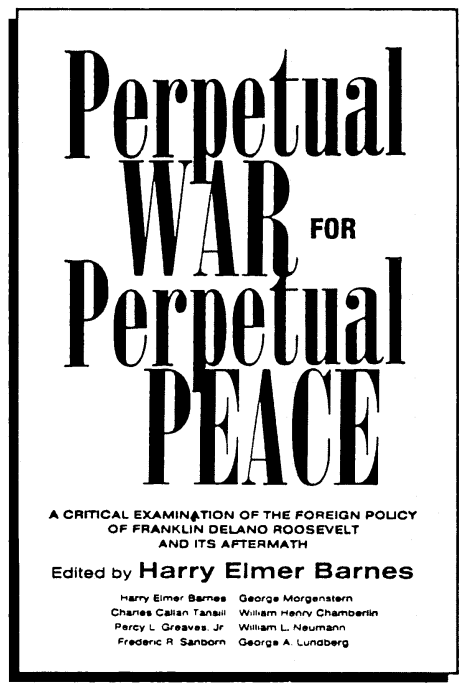
Classic... and Burningly Controversial

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace, first published in 1953, represents Revisionist academic scholarship at its full and (to date) tragically final flowering in America's greatest universities—just before America's internationalist Establishment imposed a bigoted and chillingly effective blackout on Revisionism in academia.

Its republication by the Institute in 1983 was an event, and not merely because IHR's version included Harry Elmer Barnes' uncannily prophetic essay on "1984" trends in American policy and public life (considered too controversial for conservatives and anti-Communists in the early 50's). It was hailed by the international Revisionist community, led by Dr. James J. Martin, the Dean of living Historical Revisionists, who wrote:

> It is the republication of books such as *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* which does so much to discommode and annoy the beneficiaries of the New World Order.

Discommode and annoy the enemies of historical truth and freedom of research it did—virtually the entire stock of ***Perpetual War*** was destroyed in the terrorist arson attack on the Institute's offices and warehouse on the Orwellian date of July 4, 1984.



Today, the Institute for Historical Review is proud to be able once more to make this enduring, phoenix-like classic available to you, and to our fellow Americans. It can silence the lies about World War II, and thus the bombs and bullets our interventionist rulers plan—for our own American troops no less than the enemy—in the Middle East, Europe, Africa, Asia, or wherever else the interventionist imperative imposed by World War II may lead us.

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